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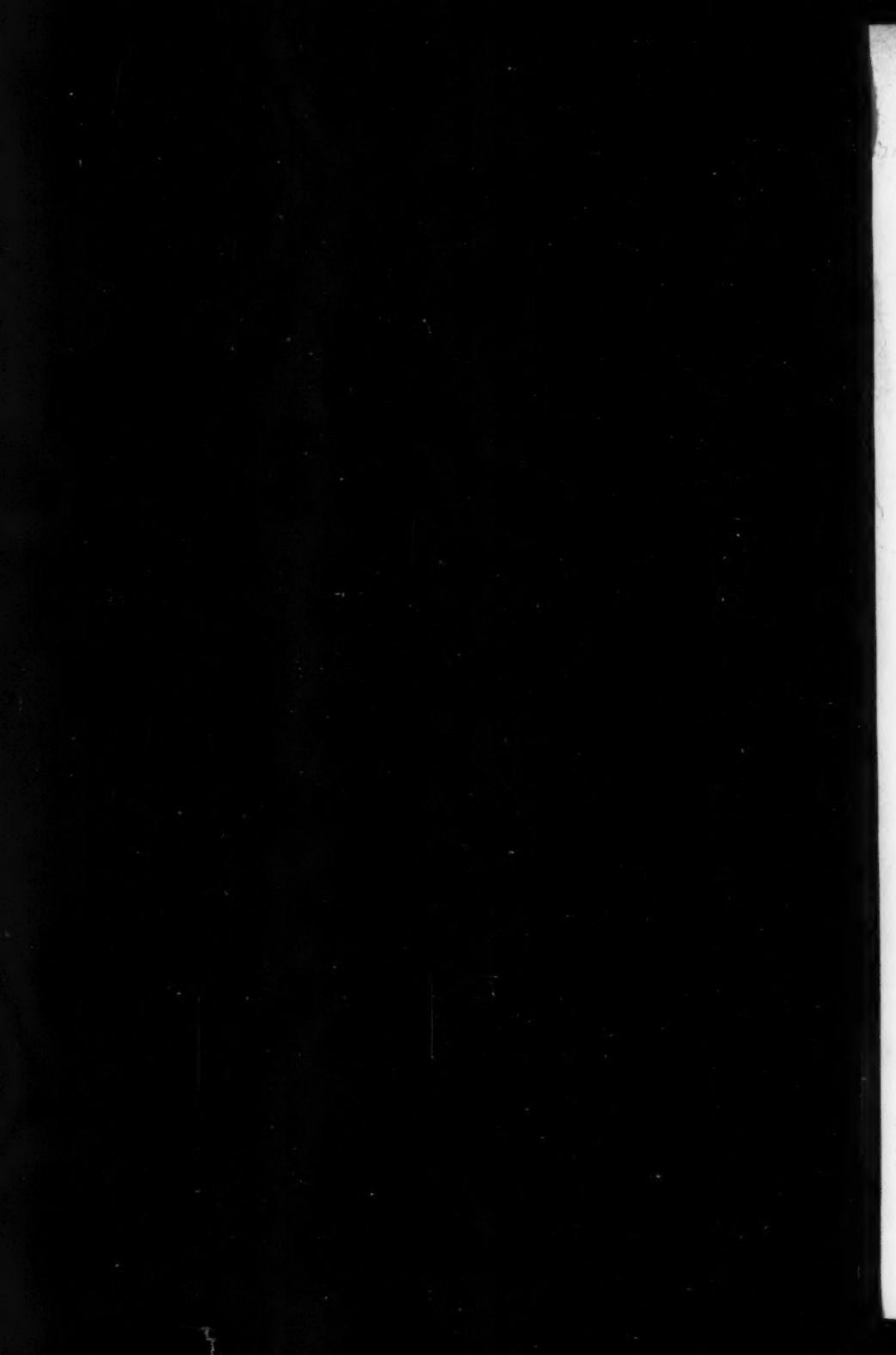
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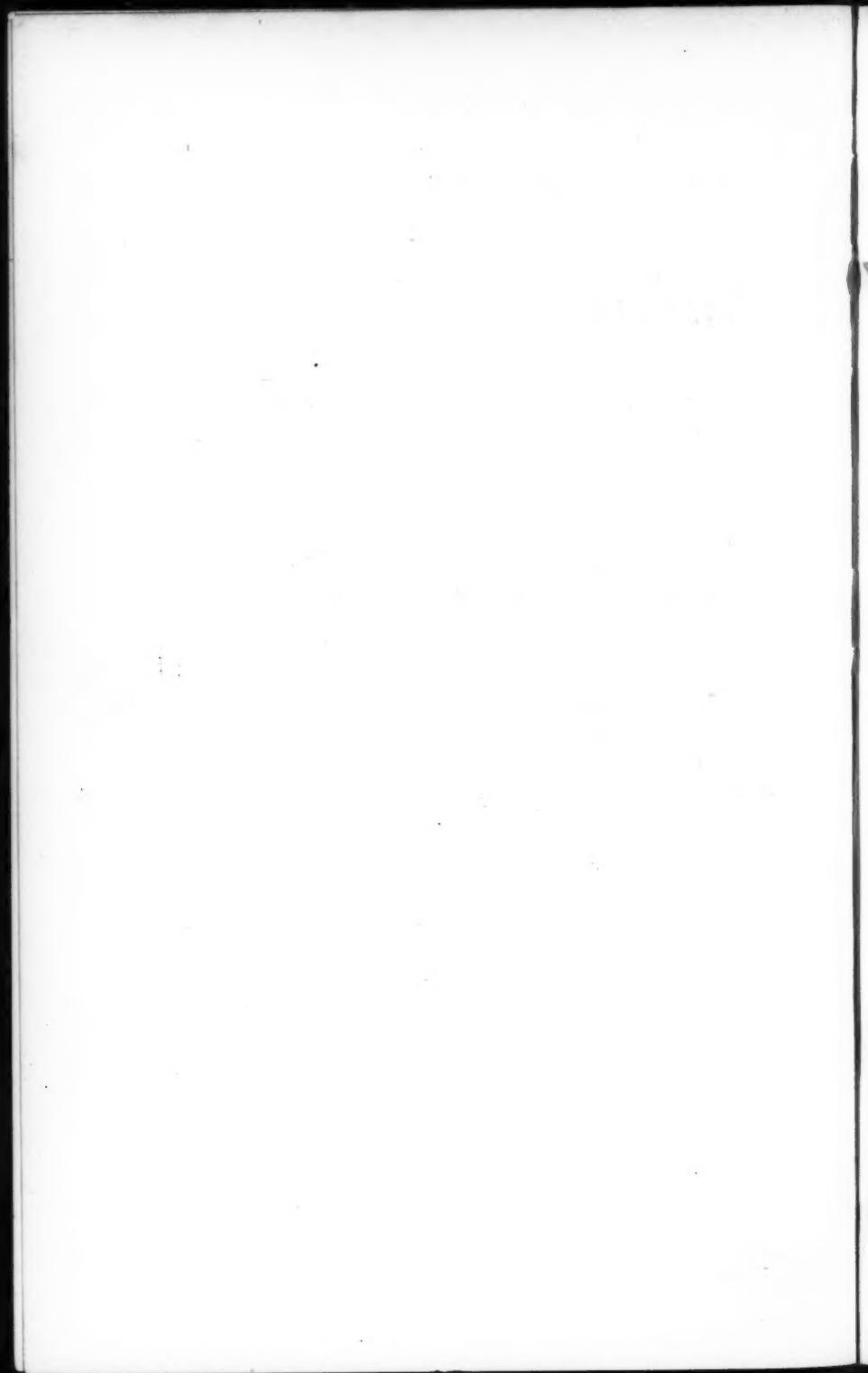


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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1896.

ART. I.—A REGIUS PROFESSOR ON THE
TRUTHFULNESS OF CATHOLICS.

DR. BRIGHT, the veteran Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, has lately published a book of essays called “The Roman See and the Early Church.”* The essay which gives its title to the book takes up about half the volume, and is a “recension and expansion of two articles on the Rev. Luke Rivington’s volume ‘The Primitive Church and the See of Peter,’” which were contributed to the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1894, and January, 1895. The most respected of Anglican ecclesiastical historians sums up (p. 210) against the book he is reviewing and against Catholic controversial literature in general, in the following terms:

In his conclusion Mr. Rivington professes to give us “the verdict of history.” Does this phrase come well from one for whom the “verdict” has been dictated before the professed inquiry has commenced? And is it usual to give a verdict before the evidence has been judicially summarised? Of this process there could not be, and there is not, a single trace in our author’s volume. His readers soon learn what they have to expect: there is very little relief from the tedious monotony of unproved assumption, unwarranted gloss, and undisguised special pleading.

This is the very accusation which must in fairness be brought against Dr. Bright’s essay, as we shall see.

* Longmans. 1896.

No one will doubt that he has written throughout under a sense of religious obligation ; but the Roman spirit, when it dominates a writer who is himself a recent proselyte, absorbs all other considerations into the supreme necessity of making out a case for Rome. Judging by the work before us, one could imagine that spirit as saying to such a writer : *Hac tibi erunt artes, Romane.* No facts in regard to Church history can be for you so certain as is the view of it imposed on the faithful in the Vatican decree of Pius IX. You will therefore read that view into all your documents. You will assume it as in possession of the ground, and throw on opponents the task of proving its absence. Whatever seems to make for it, you will amplify ; whatever seems to make against it, you will minimise, or explain away, or ignore. Such words or acts as imply deference you will strain into pledges of submission ; such as point rather to independence you will slur over or disparage. You will assume that although Popes may err when not speaking under the conditions of the Vatican decree, yet what they may say about their own rights is practically above question ; and that, although they have no immunity from ordinary temptations, they are never betrayed into a love of power for power's sake.* Some generally received rules of literary scrupulosity you will leave to men of the world, or to Protestants, who have no sacred cause to defend *quocumque modo*. Loyalty to Rome will determine how much of a passage or a sentence should be quoted in the text ; or how far the reader is to be enabled by footnotes to refer to authorities and to judge of your accuracy. You will deal largely in assertion, and in repetition and reiteration of what has been asserted ; you will not be afraid of paradox, in maintaining the genuineness of what has usually been deemed spurious, or the spuriousness of what has usually been deemed genuine.† You will uphold the majesty of the Holy See by an air of superb confidence ; you will apply to the defence of the Papal authority the watchword of a great revolutionist, “*De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace !*” Such “boldness” suits the Roman genius, and is traditional with those who have best understood Rome.

A Churchman's “verdict,” then, on this bold attempt to Vaticanise antiquity must be given with that sincere regret which is due to Mr. Rivington's former and unforgotten services in the promotion of Christian piety, but which cannot be allowed to bar judgment where interests so serious are concerned. The thing furthest from the writer's intention

* On p. 24, note 3, Dr. Bright admits, nay, urges, that “on the Papal hypothesis it would be unfaithfulness to a trust,” and not “a part of true charity” for a Pope to keep his name and personality in the background, as did St. Clement. It would further be difficult for Dr. Bright to show where Fr. Rivington has used the witness of a Pope's own words as a palmary argument, except in connection with their acceptance by contemporaries.

† This refers doubtless to Fr. Rivington's doubts as to the genuineness of the letter on Apriarius. Though I cannot say that I share his opinion, yet Dr. Bright must allow that he has given references and authorities (p. 474-5). Dr. Bright (p. 138) does not explain the wrong date given for Easter in S. Cyril's letter. The whole subject was elaborately argued in the DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1890, pp. 100-109.

would be to do him any injustice; nor is it needful to dwell on specimens of lax scholarship or false logic, or the too frequent absence of all references, or on the recurrence of references taken at second-hand or misunderstood*—a sure evidence of superficiality, of what may be called unreal knowledge. Such things might be complained of on literary grounds, if it were worth while. But graver issues are raised by a publication which is obviously part of a new Roman campaign against the English Church and the Churches in communion with her. It is a mere duty to speak plainly of the most untrustworthy presentation of a great period of history which has ever come under the writer's notice. There is no difficulty in understanding the influences which have determined its character; and the inevitable conclusion is that, so far from attracting any thoughtful Anglicans to Papalism,† it will but confirm their antagonism to a system which employs—and requires—such methods of support.

This is indeed very smart writing, and we know that anything is permitted by good form when directed against a Papist. On that ground, therefore, no exception can be taken. It is a particularly good point to admit as to a "recent proselyte" that he was once an honourable man, so as to emphasise all the more that he is now an outcast from society, and unworthy to be believed on oath.

One is happy to be able to accept a part of Dr. Bright's description of Fr. Rivington's historical method. Doubtless he does accept his view of history from the Church, and afterwards attempt to prove it. And so would Dr. Bright, if it were (for instance) a question of the authenticity of the synoptic gospels. He would be confident that he could prove their authenticity from history, but he would accept it, with their inspiration, on the authority of the Church. No facts in regard to their history could be so certain as the view imposed upon him by the Church of their inspiration; just as for Fr. Rivington: "No facts in regard to Church history can be so certain as is the view of it imposed on the faithful in the Vatican decree." There is no difference between these two statements as far as their logic is concerned. Both of them seem equally reasonable and defensible to a Catholic; both o

* Twice Dr. Bright complains of mistaken references on Fr. Rivington's part; but of references *proved* to be second-hand or misunderstood he gives no instance. So much for "unproved assertion."

† The book in question has, on the contrary, been of great use in making converts.

them appear equally unreasonable and unhistorical to a German critic.

But Canon Bright seems to be unconscious that he also "imposes" views on history ; and that, not on the authority of the Church, nor of twelve hundred bishops and of two hundred millions of consenting Christians, but purely on his own authority and that of some few of his friends. He has lived for many years in a hot-house atmosphere of high church views at Oxford ; and he has been so much accustomed to read those views into history that he now believes he found them there originally.* He therefore "reads his own view into all his documents," as he has said of Fr. Rivington. He "assumes its possession of the ground," though it is obviously a modern theory ; and "throws on opponents the task of proving its absence." "Whatever seems to make for it he amplifies ; whatever seems to make against it he minimises, or explains away, or ignores. *Hae tibi sunt artes,*" *Anglicane !*

Far be it from me to apply to Dr. Bright the rest of the passage : "Some generally received rules," &c. (I do not care to quote such a sentence twice over). Such insinuations are not *Romanæ artes* ; they are the particular privilege of Protestant controversialists. To take away the character of the "plaintiff's attorney" by hints and side-winds would not pay when refuting the learned arguments of an agnostic critic ; on the contrary, the sympathies of the reader might be enlisted on the side of the accused. But against a Catholic there is no such danger.

And if Dr. Bright does not openly say (as he might have dared to do some years ago), that St. Alphonsus teaches lying to be justifiable, and that the Church of Rome has formally approved this doctrine ; yet the same thing can be cautiously insinuated by referring to a once famous article in the "Christian Remembrancer" for January, 1854 (p. 131). Perhaps the brilliant answer of the DUBLIN REVIEW† may be not quite forgotten, though Dr. Bright doubtless has never heard of it. Yet he may not have totally forgotten another

* Some people may be said to have found these views in history, because their study corrected the Protestant misconceptions with which they started just up to this point and no more.

† December, 1854, by Manning.

controversy, in which Charles Kingsley received a rather sharp rap on the knuckles; though the gentle charity of the conqueror tried to suppress all record of the victory.

I repeat that I do not charge Canon Bright with dishonesty, and that I leave such charges to Anglicans. I am quite sure that there is much more material to support such an accusation in his book than there is in Father Rivington's much larger volume. Nevertheless I am entirely certain that Dr. Bright is perfectly candid, and has "written throughout under" some sort of a "sense of religious obligation."* For years he has been accustomed to accuse Catholics of untruthfulness, and to see falsehood in every line of their writings, till the habit of mind has become a second nature. Their language seems to him to be full of self-assertion, while his own is that of grave dignity and remonstrance. But we do not always see ourselves as others do see us, and the Regius Professor will be astounded to hear that to even some readers his book seems to have in it more assertions than proof, more rudeness than argument, and that it abounds beyond measure in those faults of exaggeration and suppression with which he charges his adversary in every page.

Such charges can be proved only by evidence. Dr. Bright has written 213 pages without substantiating his side of the accusation. But such a mass of examples together with an adequate retaliation can obviously find no place in this article. Enough, therefore, if I give one or two striking examples of Dr. Bright's curiously unfair methods of controversy; premising only that I am certain he believed himself to be at

* I have no mission to defend Fr. Rivington, who is quite able to defend himself. If he is really such a poor scholar, what must Dr. Bright be, who is obviously not his match in knowledge of the subject? But he has given an advantage to the Anglican Professor which the latter has not been slow to seize. "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter" was in reality an answer to Mr. Fuller's book with nearly the same title; but Fr. Rivington rightly preferred to give his work a constructive rather than a destructive form. Now, in a constructive history, it is allowable and natural to trace in lesser events a tendency which is proved by great events, to reinforce by probable arguments what has been proved by certain arguments, to illustrate by slight indications what is also proved by clear traces; and this Fr. Rivington has constantly done. But in a controversial work it is more prudent to keep entirely within the bounds of what is certain and clear. For if we reinforce certainties by probabilities, our adversaries' tactics will be to produce an apparent rout of these probabilities by merely showing that they are not certainties, while he treats them as our principal arguments. He will then glide lightly over the certainties, and claim a triumphant victory. And this is what Dr. Bright has constantly done.

once judicial and polite in each instance. Rather than pick out the choicest morsels from all parts of the book, I give a series of instances, taken from a few pages near the beginning, of strong language on Dr. Bright's part, unjustified by argument. The italics are in each case mine.

1. P. 27. "A presidency of love" in St. Ignatius "*has been absurdly strained*" in treating "love" as a synonym for "the whole Christian community." The Protestant spirit while suggesting to Dr. Bright to "deal largely in assertion," has not withal suggested arguments. I may refer him to an excellent essay by Funk (distinct from the notes in his edition of St. Ignatius referred to by Dr. Bright), in *Historisch-politische Blätter* for 1882, and to Hagemann, *die römische Kirche*, 1864, p. 688. Besides $\pi\rho\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\mu\acute{e}\nu\eta$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\grave{\alpha}\gamma\acute{a}\pi\eta\varsigma$ could not mean "a presidency of love," but "a presidency *in* love."

2. P. 34. "*I pass over, as really too absurd for serious treatment, the assumption* that 'in' means here 'in communion with or subjection to'"—That is, in the famous passage of St. Irenaeus "in *qua* semper," &c. Now the Catholic authors who support this absurd statement include, amongst dozens of others, such names as Dom Massuet, Bossuet, Pietro Ballerini, in the past—in this century, Schneemann, Freppel, Franzelin. Which of these does Dr. Bright despise as his inferior? His own explanation was held indeed by Neander, but is best known as having been taken up by Döllinger (in the place of the "too absurd assumption" which he had taught earlier) for controversial purposes, seized by Friedrich and Langen, and popularised in England, as an answer to Fr. Rivington, by Canon Gore and Mr. Puller. It was rejected by the serious Protestant editors Harvey, Thiersch, Griesbach, and lately by Harnack. These all give another interpretation which Dr. Bright does not mention. "De l'audace, encore de l'audace."

3. P. 35, note. "*It is futile to evade the force*" of an expression of St. Gregory of Nazianzum by referring to his language in another place. What is this "force"? St. Gregory says (in Canon Bright's words) that the Catholics who went to Constantinople "bring their own orthodoxy, and take back, so to speak, her witness in its confirmation." Dr. Bright, like Langen and Puller, thinks this is a parallel for

what he makes St. Irenæus say, viz., that those who come from all sides to Rome preserve in that church the doctrine of the Apostles. To an ordinary reader it would seem that the two ideas are contraries, not parallels. To confirm the faith of Rome by going there is not quite the same as to get your faith confirmed by going to Constantinople. The nonsense of the former statement is not glossed over by the sense of the latter, but is shown up by the contrast.

So much for the "force" of the illustration. As to the "futile" evasion, by which I know not who might wish to escape from the above cogent parallel, why does not Dr. Bright quote the point of the passage which is most important as a parallel to Irenæus, on the inerrancy of Rome? "ἡ μὲν ἡνὶ ἐκ πλειονος, καὶ νῦν ἐτ' ἔστιν εὐδρομος, τὴν ἔσπεραν Πάσαν δέουσα τῷ σωτηρὶ λόγῳ" (*de Vita Sua*, L. 562). "Loyalty to your cause will determine how much of a passage or a sentence should be quoted in the text."

4. P. 43. "A fraud like this requires no comment"—the famous interpolated passage of St. Cyprian, to wit. Why is it a fraud? "*Primatus Petro datur*" is a statement which St. Cyprian would not deny, nor Canon Bright; and he has quoted "*primum se habere*" on the preceding page, and will quote "*ecclesia principalis*" of Rome on the next. "*Qui cathedram Petri deserit in ecclesia se esse confidit*," can be explained by Dr. Bright, if he wishes, as "the episcopate" (*cf. pp. 46-47*), and surely "*cathedra una*" will give him no more difficulty in this place than in the other places of Cyprian where it occurs. The words "*pari consortio prediti et honoris et potestatis*" are omitted in *only one* MS., and, so far as I know, in no "Papalist" edition. The interpolations were obviously from marginal notes, and no fraud, and they are as old as Pelagius II. A more serious "fraud" which "requires comment" (of course it was unintentional), is to be found on the next page, where Dr. Bright in "explaining away" the words "*ad Petri cathedram et ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*," omits to quote or explain the remainder of the sentence, which is perhaps a reminiscence of St. Irenæus: "*nec cogitare eos Romanos esse quorum fides Apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum.*"

P. 45. "To suppose that St. Cyprian viewed Rome as the mother of all churches would be to make him talk sheer nonsense." Doubtless, if mother is taken in the sense of founder. But is not this sheer nonsense also: "Anyhow, the 'Episcopal unity' is said to arise out of that Church, because Cyprian, rightly or not, regarded it as the mother of Western churches"? He may have done this, though he nowhere says so; but he does obviously connect, in the passage above quoted, the "origin of sacerdotal unity" with the "chair of Peter," and Dr. Bright knows very well that St. Cyprian's doctrine of unity is always founded on St. Peter. But St. Peter only "illustrates" unity, according to him; while an exact translation of "Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est . . . Romanos, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum," might suggest that Peter, his successors and his Church, were more than the picture of unity—the centre of it, and as such, exempt from doctrinal error. So Dr. Bright invents for St. Cyprian a historical theory, "with an air of superb confidence." "Anyhow," he begins, as if no one could say he was rash or wrong.

P. 47. "There is not, in fact, one word in all St. Cyprian's correspondence on Roman Church affairs which will admit of being interpreted in a Papal sense." The spirit of controversy has whispered, "You will not be afraid of paradox." And, indeed, "such boldness is traditional with those who have best understood" how to deal with unpleasant facts which make for Catholic doctrine.

Surely the reader will be anxious to be spared an analysis of all Dr. Bright's two hundred pages. The specimens I have given are not specially chosen, but they are characteristic of the rest. Instead of lengthening my list, I will close with one passage which illustrates at once apparent "literary unscrupulosity" and "lax logic," together with a want of ordinary courtesy with which Dr. Bright has been fortunately unable to charge Father Rivington:

But we must give full prominence to our author's daring, and twice repeated, defence of "Roma locuta est, causa finita est," as no more than "the exact equivalent" of certain words of St. Augustine. What words? He gives a fair enough translation of "Jam enim de hac causa [i.e., Pelagianism] duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem Apostolicam: inde etiam:

rescripta venerunt: causa finita est." He tells us that it has been "customary" to represent the words which we have italicised by the formula in question, which he describes as doing them full justice, although it gives no hint whatever of the purport of what precedes them as to the reports of two councils, to which Rome's utterance was a reply. So then, to suppress one of the elements in a process, and to ascribe the whole result to the other, is, in Roman eyes, a "customary" and a legitimate way of using a document for a controversial end. In Anglican eyes it is a scandalous offence against truth, and one of a numerous class of "signs" against Rome (p. 130).

(A note follows which has been already referred to, charging Romanists with delighting in lies and forgeries, with the characteristic conclusion: "It is needless to dwell on such cases.")

A child would see that a "cause" is "finished" by the last "element of the process," not by the first. So much for "lax logic."

But of course "causa finita est" does refer secondarily to the former "element," since an answer would not have come from Rome if the conciliar decisions had not been sent. But what advantage does that give to Dr. Bright? He seems to think that St. Augustine means: The cause was finished—first, by two provincial councils condemning Pelagius and Celestius, and secondly, by Rome agreeing with them. St. Augustine might have said this. But he does not. He says that the cause has been finished *by the decrees being sent to the Apostolic See*,* and by rescripts having been sent back. If this is not

* Now for *explaining away, ignoring, slurring over, absence of all references.* The two councils themselves wrote and asked for a sort of *confirmation.* Compare Canon Bright's account, on p. 127, with their own words, of which he quotes but a few phrases. That of Proconsular Africa in its letter to the Pope asks "That to the statutes of our littleness may be added the authority of the Apostolic See;" and says that "The error ought to be anathematised by the authority of the Apostolic See," and adds that doubtless Innocent will "make a *judgment* such that all may rejoice in the mercy of God." That of Numidia writes in the same strain; the heretics "will more easily cede to the authority of your Holiness, which is taken from that of the Sacred Scriptures." Dr. Bright would like this to mean that his teaching is sure to be based on the Scriptural grounds to which the Council has just been referring. But the Numidians must mean the same by authority as did their brethren at Carthage in the former extract. A letter from St. Augustine and four other Bishops accompanied those of the councils. Dr. Bright does not quote its concluding passage. He does quote a few words from the tremendously Papal *rescripta* of Innocent, but he implies that the Africans rejected those claims. On the contrary, they continually quoted and referred to them as final decisions, and St. Augustine writes to no less a person than St. Paulinus of Nola, not (as Dr. Bright says, p. 130, note) that Innocent replied *ad omnia* in a manner worthy

giving "Roma locuta est" as the sole reason of "causa finita est," I only ask, what else can be meant by it? But, alas! when the controversial "spirit dominates a writer," it "absorbs all other considerations into the supreme necessity of making out a case" for Anglicanism.

DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B.

of the Bishop of the Apostolic See, but "eo modo quo *fas erat atque oportebat* Apostolice Sedis Antistitem," which means nothing less than "in the way in which it was *allowable* and *proper*," or "*his right and his duty to do*" (Ep. 186).

How is Dr. Bright to be excused from a least culpable carelessness with regard to so famous a text, and of rash judgment against his neighbour? I do not know, but at all events I do not suspect him of wilfully committing a "scandalous offence against truth," as I know the force of prejudice, and it is easy to see that he has forgotten the details of the Pelagian controversy, or he would know that not only successive Popes, but St. Augustine often, the Milanese deacon Paulinus, the friends of St. Augustine, Marius Mercator and Prosper, again and again affirm the principle involved in the famous phrase which Dr. Bright finds so unendurable.

I give just a few references; Aug., *de Pecc. orig.*, vii., a letter of the council of Carthage to Zosimus quoted by Prosper *c. Coll.* 10, the *libellus* of Paulinus and part of the *Commonitorium* of Marius Mercator both in the appendix to Aug. vol. x., many expressions of Prosper, cf. *contra Coll.* c. 5, 10, 21, &c., *Chron.*, p. 740 (591), &c.

Of course Dr. Bright may treat these references in the same way that he treats the statements of St. Cyprian (p. 39, *seq.*), St. Optatus (p. 116), St. Jerome (p. 106), the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (pp. 159, 163-4, 205). It is a treatment which reminds me irresistibly of the way in which my tutor at Oxford used to treat philosophers of all countries and races. After discussing some one of their tenets, he habitually observed, slowly and meditatively: "Beautiful, beautiful—it's all poetry." And then, after a pause, "He didn't mean it!" So when writers of antiquity say something too "ultramontane" for Dr. Bright's ears, he explains it away—it is poetry, rhetoric, he didn't mean it!

ART. II.—A REGIUS PROFESSOR ON
THE ROMAN SEE.

DR. BRIGHT, fresh from a crusade against the indissolubility of the marriage tie, in which he showed how much learning could be devoted to the cause of heresy, has come forward as the champion of Anglicanism against the supremacy and infallibility of the See of Peter. His essay of 213 pages on "The Roman See in the Early Church" takes the form of an attack upon a work called "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," published in 1894, in which the author endeavours to show that Papal supremacy as understood by the Vatican decree existed in the earliest times of the Christian Church.

Dr. Bright commences with a grave misrepresentation as to the Vatican Council itself. He asserts (p. 5) on Mr. Ward's authority, that "a certain 'historical introduction to the decree,' designed to re-assure certain minds by recognising the consultative function of the Church as preparatory to a Papal definition, was not published until twenty years later," and he adds that this "is very characteristic of Roman policy." Mr. Ward (needless to say) says no such thing. But the extraordinary part of the matter is that here is Dr. Bright professing to write against the Vatican decrees, and exhibiting ignorance as to a vital part of the decree concerning Papal Infallibility. The "historical introduction" is given by Mr. Ward almost in full on the page to which Dr. Bright refers, and it is part of the Dogmatic Constitution *De Ecclesiâ* promulgated at St. Peter's, Rome, on July 18, 1870. It passed straight from Pio Nono's hands to those of Mgr. Valenziani, and was read out loud in the Council by the latter at once, and has appeared in every authorised edition of the Vatican decrees ever since. Such a blunder as this raises the question: Is Dr. Bright qualified to write on the subject of the Vatican Council when he did not even recognise such an important sentence in its decrees, but made its supposed non-publication a ground of accusation against "Roman policy?" In point of fact, as we shall see,

this very sentence of the "Dogmatic Constitution" of the Vatican Council needs to be ignored before there can be any sense in Dr. Bright's disproof of Infallibility as derived from the history of the Nicene Council.

Such is the opening of the attack. The conclusion is not less remarkable. Dr. Bright concludes his assault with enunciating a principle which would be fatal to the value of most scientific treatises. He objects that the writer whom he opposes has no right to speak of his conclusion as "the verdict of history" *because* that conclusion was already held by him to be true. "Does this phrase," he asks, "come well from one for whom the 'verdict' has been dictated before the professed inquiry has commenced?" (p. 210). On the same principle, if we have been taught anything by the Church and proceed to prove it from Holy Scripture, the value of our Scriptural proof would (according to Dr. Bright) be discounted by the mere fact that the Church had already imposed on us the truth of the thesis. We are impelled to ask: Did Dr. Bright start his inquiry with no belief in the Anglican theory? Considering that he receives at least £1000 a year, and the dignity of a Canonry at Christ Church Cathedral, on the understanding that he upholds the Anglican, and not the Papal, theory of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is it possible to suppose that Dr. Bright has been in such a curious state of mind as to pursue his investigations without any belief in Anglicanism?

Now, a Catholic writer does enter upon his historical investigation with his conclusion as to Papal supremacy already formed in his mind by the action (as he believes) of the Holy Ghost. He may not be certain whether he can show *from history* that this or that period, or series of incidents, contains evidence sufficient by itself to establish the truth. But he is quite certain of his position. For instance, he may or may not be able to show from ancient documents that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, but he knows that he *was* Bishop of Rome with a higher certainty than can be derived from mere historical investigations. On considering the records or documents, he may or may not tamper with them; but if he does, it is not due to his presupposition, but to his disingenuousness in attempting to support that presupposition by ill-considered arguments. But, Dr. Bright considers that such a belief as a

Catholic has in Papal supremacy unsuits him for the investigation of historical records. We do not see why, except on the supposition that Dr. Bright's belief in Anglicanism equally unsuits himself, unless Dr. Bright is prepared to say, "But *I* never give way to the temptation of perpetrating logical fallacies, or misquotation, or of translating as best suits my purpose."

There is, certainly, one temptation to which Dr. Bright does most lamentably succumb, and it is that of a very *de haut en bas* tone towards those with whom he disagrees. The Abbé Duchesne says that St. Clement in his letter to the Church at Corinth *écrivit déjà comme un Pape*. Dr. Bright says this is due to "nothing but the strongest kind of preconception" (p. 24). Père Gratry was quoted by Dr. Bright ("Waymarks," p. 241) as that "noble and truth-loving priest." Now that Dr. Bright has discovered that he submitted to the Vatican decree, Gratry is insincere ("Roman See," p. 5, note). The Ballerini give a scholarly translation of a certain word, which does not suit Dr. Bright's theory. He says they do it "naturally from their standpoint," *i.e.*, pure prejudice (p. 180). St. Innocent I., according to our author, "in true Roman fashion, was interpreting an application as broadly as suited him, and adding a broad assertion to match" (p. 129). St. Zosimus "uses language about his own See, which, if challenged, he could not possibly have supported by evidence," is Dr. Bright's complacent estimate of his own historical acumen (p. 134). St. Augustine knew less about the history in which he was himself engaged than Dr. Bright does, so at least Dr. Bright tells us—or he counts among the falsifiers of evidence (p. 135). Pope St. Nicolas I. argued, according to Dr. Bright, "disingenuously" (p. 79), in a matter in which Cardinal Newman has shown by anticipation that Dr. Bright's history is quite at fault ("Newman's Essays Critical and Historical," Vol. II. p. 328). Such is the position assumed by Dr. Bright towards saints and doctors, scholars living and dead.

It will be our business to show that this superlative position is not one to which Dr. Bright can justly lay claim. And here we are met with the difficulty of selection; for it is the plain truth to say that not one of the arguments advanced by Dr. Bright on the important points at issue can be acquitted of logical incompleteness. We will, therefore, select only two

points, which Dr. Bright has himself emphasised as of primary import. They are these: (1) Dr. Bright's treatment of the subject of the Petrine Episcopate, and (2) the disproof of Papal Infallibility supposed to be derived from the history of the Arian struggle and the mere fact of the Nicene Council having been assembled.

I. Dr. Bright begins, in reference to St. Peter, with a very cursory glance at Holy Scripture, in which he repeats the argument *ex silentio*, which was first used against the Petrine supremacy by certain Dutch Protestants. Papal supremacy, he says, "must (*sic*) have found expression in Apostolic writings." But it is not found, so he thinks, in the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles of St. Paul. Therefore, it did not exist. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Mr. Allies' work, "St. Peter, his Name and Office," will find it hard to realise the state of mind which can dismiss the Scriptural argument with this bold assertion. They will remember that St. Peter stands out in the first half of the Acts in a way which again and again *suggests* that he had taken the place of our Lord in the government of the kingdom founded by Him. The fact is, that considering on the one hand the plain account in the Gospels of the appointment of St. Peter to be the chief ruler of the Church under Christ, and, on the other hand, the purpose for which the Acts appear to have been written, more is said about Peter than one might have considered necessary. One purpose for which the Acts appear to have been written by St. Luke was that of upholding the authority of St. Paul, whose Apostolate had been questioned and indeed denied. The book is not a narrative of "the Acts" of the Apostles, but merely of "Acts" (there is no definite article in the Greek title). It consists of a selection for a purpose. It was to bring out the genuine Apostleship of St. Paul, not as against, or in contrast with, St. Peter, but as against those who would not place him amongst the twelve. There is, therefore, no reason to expect this or that feature of the government to be emphasised, except so far as it would bear upon the purpose of the book.

Further, and still more evidently, the book of the Acts, was written to show the extension of the Church amongst the Gentiles. Consequently, St. Peter comes prominently for-

ward, in certain aspects of his work, and becomes, indeed, for a while the central figure of the narrative; but not so much in order to show his position in the government of the Church generally, as to show how the Church grew from Jerusalem to the Gentile world. In other words, the exceedingly prominent part which he took entered into the first part of the narrative, because it was, as a matter of fact, the function of the "key-bearer" to open the kingdom of Heaven to the Gentile world, as well as to govern it to the end of time through his successors. It was no part of St. Luke's purpose to emphasise the latter point, nor was it needed, for it cannot be shown that it was ever doubted.

So that Dr. Bright makes a most illegitimate use of the argument from silence. Indeed, he so far commits himself to it, that we do not see how he would meet the Unitarian argument, that Our Lord never used the actual expression "I am God," and yet that, considering the momentous importance of the truth on the Christian hypothesis, it was necessary that He should have said this, and thus closed the question.

We have assumed for the moment that there are plain terms in which our Lord appointed St. Peter to be the ruler of His Church. Dr. Bright, of course, will challenge this statement. Let us see how he meets the argument derived from our Lord's words to Peter, "I will give thee the keys," &c. He says that this "is explained by Isa. xxii. 22" ("Rom. See," p. 29, note 1). We wonder whether Dr. Bright is aware that St. Francis of Sales refers to this same passage in Isaías, and draws from it an opposite conclusion. But listen to Dr. Bright: "From this passage it is clear that 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom' is equivalent to 'I will make thee My steward.'" Let us turn to the passage. The prophet is first bidden to tell Shebna (Sobna) that Eliakim is to succeed him as the king's palace-prefect (vv. 15, 19, 20). And it is in describing the appointment of Eliakim that the words occur, to which Dr. Bright refers, "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open." In the previous verse, Shebna is told with regard to Eliakim, "I will commit *thy government* into his hand, and he shall be a *father* to the inhabitants of Jerusalem," and in the succeeding verse it is said,

"And he shall be for a glorious *throne* to his father's house." So that, according to this prophecy, which Dr. Bright rightly refers to St. Peter, that Apostle was (1) to occupy the place of the prefect of the king's palace, (2) to have jurisdiction, (3) to be a father, and (4) to reign—in fact, to be the first Pope. And so to him, and to him alone, it was said by our Lord, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom."

But, says Dr. Bright, it only means, "I will make thee My steward," and then he proceeds, "Either, therefore, the keys were not to be held exclusively by St. Peter" (which he pretends is the Roman theory), "or the other Apostles were not stewards, which is absurd." It is an ominous beginning thus to misrepresent the "Roman theory," which he professes to attack. Where does the Vatican decree teach that St. Peter held the keys so exclusively as that the other Apostles were not stewards? St. Francis of Sales, after adducing the same passage from Isaias, and after drawing a distinction between *having* the keys, which was promised to St. Peter alone, and *having* the *exercise* of the same, which was promised also to the rest, and which expresses the relationship between the head steward and the other stewards, says :

This difference is taken from the very terms of the Scripture: for to "loose and bind" signifies only the action and exercise, whilst to "have the keys" signifies the habit. . . . See how different is the promise which our Lord made to St. Peter from that which he made to the other Apostles. The Apostles all have the same power as St. Peter, but not in the same rank. . . . St. Peter has it as ordinary head and permanent officer (Cath. Controv. Eng. Tr. 1886, p. 256).

But let us turn from Biblical exegesis to ecclesiastical history, of which Dr. Bright is Regius Professor. What are his arguments against the episcopate of St. Peter at Rome? It has been said with reference to this whole question of the episcopate of St. Peter, that "a vast deal of more or less learned dust has been raised on the point;" and the same writer very forcibly describes "the natural position of an Apostle residing in a Church, either permanently or for a notable period of time."* "That an Apostle, wherever he

* "Bishop Lightfoot and the Early Roman See," by Dom. Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1893.

was, would ordain to the ministry can hardly need formal proof." Dr. Bright himself, if we understand him rightly, does not deny that St. Peter ordained Linus, let us suppose, if he pleases, together with St. Paul, but still, according to Dr. Bright's own theory, as *primus inter pares*. If, then, St. Peter stayed any notable time at Rome and ordained, he so far acted as bishop. And "by the very nature of things the Apostle would be the teacher and guide of the community in which he lived. . . . In a word, he would be the source and centre of all authority and spiritual power, the chief and immediate pastor of the flock." In other words, he would exercise the episcopal office, with this distinction, that in his case the Apostolic prerogatives were added to the episcopal. St. Peter, then, on the "Papal" hypothesis, was both Apostle and bishop; and the See was both established and occupied by him, whether with or without St. Paul, does not affect our present point.

Next comes one who was bishop without being one of the twelve, and he was appointed by the common action of the two Apostles. They handed to him (*ἐνέχειποσαν*) the ministry of the episcopate, says St. Irenæus. This was Linus. Linus, therefore, became the first bishop after the Apostles; the first, that is, who exercised the episcopal office in Rome without being one of the twelve. He could, therefore, be designated either the first after Peter, or the first bishop after Peter and Paul died, in a separate list (if we consider him in conjunction with those that followed), and at the head of that list, or the second who exercised episcopal functions in Rome, if we think of St. Peter, whether with or without St. Paul, as ordaining, taking the lead in teaching, and in the assemblies for worship, which he undoubtedly did. And the ordinary way of speaking of Linus would be to call him the first after Peter, or after Peter and Paul, placing those who were numbered with the twelve by themselves, *not* as excluding them from episcopal functions, but because they had in addition a function of their own in regard to the revealed deposit. But he might also be called the second bishop of Rome. Now St. Irenæus does reckon him as the second bishop of Rome, for he calls Hyginus the ninth, when first he mentions the succession of the bishops of Rome ("Hær." i. 27, 1). And there were only seven between Hyginus and St. Peter.

How does Dr. Bright answer this? He draws a distinction between founding the bishopric and occupying it, which (if St. Peter stayed at Rome any time) is a distinction without a difference. He then argues from the expression which St. Irenæus uses in regard to Clement, viz., "in the third place from the Apostles." He says, "Here, then, the phrase 'from the Apostles,' excludes either Apostle from 'the Episcopal' list." This is not good reasoning. The phrase excludes the bishop from the list of Apostles, not *vice versa*. William Rufus was the first king "from the Conqueror;" this excludes him from the position of Conqueror, not the Conqueror from the position of king.

Next Dr. Bright quotes a passage ("Hær." iii. 3) in which Hyginus is reckoned, though not actually called, the eighth from the Apostles. He speaks of it as a "definite catalogue." But there is more that is definite about Hyginus in particular in the previous passage (iv. 11), where Hyginus is called ninth bishop, including St. Peter. And there was a reason why, in iii. 3, Irenæus should put the bishops by themselves, for he had expressly said (iii. 3, 1) that he is treating of "the successors whom the Apostles left behind them, and to whom they delivered their own post of government" (*cf. "Roman Claims,"* by Bernard Vaughan, S.J., p. 41).

Next Dr. Bright appeals to the Latin version in one passage. But we have the Greek original, and, therefore, to use his own words six pages further on, "Since we have the Greek here we need not lay stress on translations" ("Roman See," p. 17).

His conclusion is marvellous, "On the whole, then, it is clear that the 'Petrine Episcopate' receives no attestation from Irenæus!" No attestation! when Irenæus twice calls Hyginus the ninth Bishop of Rome, thus including St. Peter in the number of bishops.

Next we come to Tertullian, who speaks of Clement as having been ordained by Peter. This is awkward for Dr. Bright's position. It omits St. Paul. But Dr. Bright thinks that the context shows that anyhow Tertullian did not regard Peter as the first bishop. Dr. Bright, however, here perpetrates a *petitio principii*, for he assumes that a first bishop "appointed and preceded by an Apostle or an Apostolic man, excludes the Apostle or Apostolic man from the list of bishops,"

which is the point to be proved. Lightfoot, on the contrary, is opposed to Dr. Bright's assumption, and says that here Tertullian "presumably regards Clement as the Apostle's own successor in the Episcopate." And now what are we to say of the rest of the sentence? Dr. Bright says, "The relation of Clement to St. Peter is paralleled by the relation of Polycarp to St. John, so that as far as this passage goes, St. Peter was no more Bishop of Rome than St. John was Bishop of Smyrna" (p. 12). But if Dr. Bright would only have quoted the words, it would be seen that Tertullian actually suggests a distinction between the relation of St. John to Polycarp, and that of St. Peter to Clement, and the distinction for the matter in hand is vital. He says that "the Church of the Smyrnaeans relates that Polycarp was *placed* [there] by John;" and that "the Church of the Romans relates that Clement was *ordained* by Peter in the same place," i.e. at Rome. That is to say, Tertullian (1) actually emphasises the *ordination* of Clement by St. Peter, and (2) avoids using the word "placed" about St. Clement, which might imply that he was the *immediate* successor of St. Peter, instead of being the third. Bishop Moorhouse boldly translated "*collocatum*" (the word used of St. John's action towards Polycarp) "*ordained*," and so obscured the distinction. Dr. Bright does not translate, but practically misquotes Tertullian. And be it noted that Tertullian does not compare the Church of Smyrna with the Roman Church; it is not "as" and "so," but "as" Smyrna and "as" Rome, two examples of how the Apostolic Churches handed on their lists with their separate relationships.

But (as we have said) that Tertullian should speak of Peter only, in connection with the Roman bishop Clement, is naturally a difficulty to Dr. Bright. It is evidence, and what is to be done with it? Dr. Bright thinks that this mention of Peter by himself "suggests" that Tertullian "had got hold of a story which—perhaps at a later period—was embodied in the spurious 'Epistle of Clement to James,' to the effect that Peter, at the close of his own life, laid his hands on Clement and made him bishop" (p. 12).

To whom does Tertullian's witness "suggest" this? Why should it suggest anything of the kind? Where is the diffi-

culty (except on the Anglican hypothesis) of believing that Tertullian had good grounds for making his statement? And what is the nature of the suggestion? It requires us to hold that Rufinus "may have been mistaken as to the date of the letter," for Rufinus makes it too late for Dr. Bright's purposes, but (adds Dr. Bright) even if the latter "had only come to Rome with the Recognitions" [*i.e.* after Tertullian wrote], still "the statement that 'Peter placed Clement in his own chair,' might well have been current in some 'first draft' of the story" (p. 12, note 2).

This, then, is the situation. There is not a tittle of positive evidence for the appearance of the Clementine romance in Rome or the letter of Clement to St. James, before Tertullian gave the belief of the Church of the Romans that Peter ordained Clement. We must, therefore, suppose something. Rufinus may have been mistaken. A statement "might well have been current in some first draft of the story." Mark the convenience of the supposition "some first draft."

This imagination of Dr. Bright's, which would so far save the Anglican position, soon passes into positive fact; it only takes half a page to transpose the conjecture into a certainty, and so on the next page we learn that "the one statement [*i.e.* in the forgery] that Peter ordained (*i.e.* consecrated) Clement, was adopted (*sic*) by Tertullian," (p. 13). It is done. Something which would suit Dr. Bright's theory "may have" taken place (p. 12); therefore it did (p. 13).

Now for the expansion of his argument as to the Chair of Peter. The only spurious letter known of which the supposed "first draft" was to work the miracle of capturing the infant Church of Rome and deceiving the whole West for centuries to come, contains a mention of the *Chair of Peter*. Peter seated Clement "in his own Chair." If Tertullian meant to adopt this in speaking of Clement's ordination, he becomes a direct witness of the highest value to the Petrine episcopate. He would in this case support Irenæus in considering Hyginus the ninth from Peter, which enumeration includes Peter in the bishops. We must therefore do some more conjuring. Tertullian must be supposed to have adopted his statement as to Peter having ordained Clement, not from the spurious letter of Clement to James "as it stands" (p. 13),

but from a "first draft" which did not contain the mention of Peter placing Clement in his own Chair. Or if he saw a "first draft" with this unfortunate statement (unfortunate, we mean, for the Anglican contention) he left that part out, and merely retailed the supposed fact that Peter ordained Clement!

But how is this suppositious "first draft" of the story of Peter and Clement to be got to Rome? For there is no evidence for this part of the theory, even if we were to grant its existence at that date, for which also (it is admitted) there is no positive evidence. Dr. Bright will tell us how it got to Rome and made itself at home amongst those Romans, to whom, says St. Cyprian, with all antiquity, "faithlessness could have no access." "It might have reached the West in the latter part of the second century" (p. 13). That is, the earlier form of the story about Peter and Clement. "It might have reached." This looks very like manufacturing evidence. There was no need for it, except on the Anglican presupposition. Let us, however, suppose (what there is not an iota of evidence for asserting) that (1) this supposed first draft existed at that date; and (2) that it reached Rome; it still has to capture the infant Church there. How was it to do this?

Here we have Dr. Bright again at work in his manufactory. Let us watch him. "Peter as the 'first' Apostle," says Dr. Bright. But softly: Dr. Bright has used a rather harsh term about Bishop Hefele for employing the "ambiguous term" *primacy* (p. 80). So that although the word is not, as a matter of fact, in the least ambiguous in Dr. Hefele's pages, still it is "ambiguous" to Dr. Bright by his own confession. Then why does he talk of St. Peter as the "first" Apostle, without explaining what he means by this "firstness" or primacy? However, to continue. "Peter as the 'first' Apostle and the converter of Roman sojourners at the great Pentecost, would be thought of as in his own person *the appropriate organiser of the 'first' in importance among churches*"—i.e., we must suppose that Rome had already forgotten her history, or learnt to distort it, and placed Peter above Paul, not because he was made the rock, and the key-bearer, and the shepherd, in a pre-eminent sense, but apparently because he had converted some of them in Jerusalem at Pentecost. Then, further, Rome would think more of Clement than of Linus or Anencletus, and

hence—"publish it not in Gath," let not the Philistines hear—hence (remember that we are speaking of those Romans whose faith the Apostle Paul commended as spoken of throughout the world and to whom, according to St. Cyprian, "faithlessness could have no access") "hence a welcome would be given to the account (however obtained) which brought Peter and Clement close together, as the consecrator and the consecrated." The wish was father to the thought. They thought so much of Peter that they wished to place him above St. Paul. We forbear to characterise such arguments.

But Dr. Bright proceeds to weave his web. "From this point it would be a short step to make St. Peter actually the first Roman bishop" (p. 14). It is done. And Dr. Bright is thus able to explain to his own satisfaction why the "Chronicle of Hippolytus" regards St. Peter as the first Bishop of Rome, and why St. Cyprian "calls the Roman See the Chair of Peter," and the place vacated by a deceased Roman bishop the *locus Petri*. *Exit* Cyprian deluded.

But when Dr. Bright asks us in the next sentence not to be surprised, "Can we wonder," &c., we are compelled to say that we are very much surprised, not only that, according to Dr. Bright, "a tradition grew up in the West, extending itself also into the East," on such an important matter, based on a falsehood, but that Dr. Bright should "condescend" (to use the term he applies to Bishop Hefele) to such arguments as these.

We next come to the witness of Eusebius. Dr. Bright thinks that, in a well-known passage in his second book, Eusebius accounts for the pre-eminence of St. Peter by his courage, whereas his statement merely comes to this, that he excelled the rest in that virtue—and so was morally fitted for the leadership—and then he goes on to say that Peter, "like a noble commander of God fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself and the salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the Kingdom of God" (ii. 14). It would be unlike Eusebius to enter upon the doctrinal ground of this commanding position held by the Apostle. But as regards the relationship of the Popes St. Linus and St. Clement to St. Peter, Eusebius uses the more

ordinary way of expressing it as that of "first after Peter," and "third after both Paul and Peter," which, as we have said, excludes Linus and Clement from the Apostolate, but does not exclude Peter from the Episcopate.

But then Dr. Bright pauses to impress his readers with an *a priori* argument. The Episcopate of Peter was (he says) on the Papal hypothesis "a fact on which the 'father of Church History' must surely have spoken with unequivocal distinctness and emphasis, instead of leaving it to be read into such a phrase as 'from' or 'after the Apostles'" (p. 17). Dr. Bright means that Eusebius must have spoken with emphasis on this subject in his *History*. We should have thought it was the last thing that Eusebius was likely to emphasise in that particular work. Beyond giving the list of bishops in the See of Rome, just as he would give the list of any other See, Eusebius would not naturally do more, for that would be to enter upon the region of doctrine, from which he carefully refrains. If there had been any heresy on the subject, doubtless he would have given us a succinct account of the heresy; but as there was no Anglicanism up to his day, it would have been going out of his usual dry path to "emphasise" anything of the kind. He had conveyed all that he needed to convey by the phrase "after Peter," for no one doubts that when Eusebius wrote, the Petrine Episcopate was the prevailing tradition, whether derived, as Dr. Bright thinks, from a Clementine Romance (its supposititious first draft and its subsequent enlargement), or as being the Apostolical tradition, as we hold. This being the case, every one would, as a matter of course, read into the expressions used by Eusebius what to this day we ourselves see in them. Dr. Bright virtually somewhat unwarily admits this principle in a note (p. 16, note 4). For he says: "Mr. Rivington remarks that 'we should say that Henry III. was the first king of England after John, meaning to include John amongst the kings.' We should say so [adds Dr. Bright], no doubt, *after* saying that John was one of the kings. Only, in the history, Eusebius does *not* say that Peter was one of the Roman bishops." But this principle, "we should say so," &c., must equally apply to the case in which, by hypothesis, every one understood St. Peter to have been the first bishop. For as it would not be necessary for us

to say in a particular book that John was a king, seeing that every one knows that, so it would not be necessary for Eusebius to say that Peter was bishop, if, as was the case, every one by this time (rightly or wrongly) conceived Peter to have held that position.

But, as a matter of fact, Eusebius did say plainly and emphatically that St. Peter had been Bishop of Rome, and therefore there is no room for doubting what he meant by "first after Peter," or "first after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul," or "third from the Apostles." He said in his *Chronicle* that Peter "was the first to preside over the Roman Church." Dr. Bright is quite astonishing as he deals with this plain statement. He says that "this one passage cannot be taken to convey Eusebius' adhesion to the popular Roman theory, as opposed to that computation of Roman succession which makes Linus the first and Eleutherius the twelfth, and which he formally adopts from Irenæus in Hist. v. 6" (p. 18). But (1) that computation does not settle the question either way, except by means of a *petitio principii*, for (we repeat) so far as the mere expression goes it only excludes Linus from the Apostolate and not Peter from the Episcopate. And (2) the statement, "Peter was the first to preside over the Roman Church," is plain, precise, and emphatic, and must be allowed to explain the phrase "after Peter," not *vice versa*. The whole question is indeed contained in that word "first." If he was first, some one was second. There was no second Apostle. *Ergo* Peter was first bishop. Consequently, since also the Greek word here is used by Eusebius for episcopal presidency both at Rome and elsewhere, as Dr. Bright admits, the question as to Eusebius' belief on the matter is settled; and since he explicitly states that Peter was bishop, we must interpret the phrase "first after Peter" in accordance with this statement.

Dr. Bright has one more argument, which, if allowed, would strike at the foundations of our faith. After speaking of the uncertainties as to the exact order in which the first few bishops came, he asks "if the Church in the sub-Apostolic period" understood the Petrine Episcopate "in the Vaticanist sense," "would room have been left for inconsistent traditions as to the first recipients of so momentous a charge?" We might ask in reply, What difference could it make as long as

at the time they knew who was the proper occupant of the Holy See? But we shall do well to ask how Dr. Bright would answer one who does not believe in the Resurrection of Our Lord, if he pleaded that on so momentous a mystery, room would never have been left for inconsistent traditions as to the order of the appearances, nay, for inconsistent interpretations of the Gospel narrative? And if Dr. Bright had had any missionary work amongst the Jews, he would know how they, with equal inconsequence, press the "inconsistent traditions" as to the order in the genealogies in the Gospels, and indeed how others, besides Jews, do the same.

By way of completing our survey of Dr. Bright's arguments on this subject, we may notice that he misunderstands Eusebius' words about Primus, the Bishop of Alexandria. Eusebius calls him "fourth from the Apostles." Now he was fourth from St. Mark, exclusive of St. Mark, and yet clearly Eusebius understood St. Mark to have been the first Bishop of Alexandria. This is an incidental proof that when Eusebius speaks of a person being fourth from another, he does not mean to exclude that other. St. Mark represented St. Peter, and comes under the head of an "Apostolic man;" hence "from the Apostles."

We have thus taken Dr. Bright's account, sentence by sentence, and we submit that no link of his argument will bear the strain put upon it. Indeed, his reliance on a *supposed* "first draft" of the Clementine Romance to account for the tradition of the Petrine Episcopate is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Anglican position. It is difficult to treat it seriously. It reminds one of a passage in Gulliver's Travels :

He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers. . . . He told me he did not doubt that in eight years he would be able to supply the Governor's gardens with sunshine at a reasonable rate.

Dr. Bright, as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, has supplied the undergraduate mind with light as to the Church's unanimous conviction for so many centuries as to the Petrine Episcopate. Imagine a "first draft" of a romance: put it at Rome early enough for your purpose; put into it exactly what you want, let it capture the infant Church of Rome—and lo! the thing is done.

A learned Swiss Protestant has said :

All the ancients and the great majority of the moderns have undertaken to derive the succession of the bishops of Rome from the Apostle Peter. So great in this matter has been the agreement of all, that in truth it ought to be deemed a miracle that certain persons born in our day have presumed to deny a fact so manifest.*

We must, therefore, according to M. Baratier, consider that we have before us a literary miracle in the present Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. But, according to a great champion of High Anglicanism, we have to take our choice between two alternatives in contemplating this contention of Dr. Bright's: "He must either be meanly versed in the primitive Fathers, or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed S. Peter in the Roman bishopric," says Archbishop Bramhall. Perhaps the following words will show whether it is not the latter alternative that must be preferred. One of the Fathers of the Church, and one of the greatest, is St. Leo the Great. Of him Dr. Bright remarks (p. 119): "Leo was much more likely to be determinedly inaccurate, when 'confronted' by facts which crossed his own theory and programme."

After a sentence like this, we should hardly be thought to have passed the bounds of courtesy if we transferred the charge of deliberate inaccuracy to Dr. Bright himself. But we refrain from such ill-mannered accusations and prefer to show on another matter how utterly untrustworthy Dr. Bright is in his dealing either with living authors or with the most important period of Church History. But we must notice, *en passant*, that Dr. Bright will have some difficulty in reconciling his account of how the idea of the Petrine Episcopate grew from a forgery, with his interpretation of St. Irenæus about the faith having been kept at Rome. If the confluence of visitors could not keep the faith right on a matter on which they would naturally be somewhat sensitive, what becomes of Irenæus' supposed assertion?

II. But it is on the subject of the Nicene Council that one expects Dr. Bright to be at his best. He is, it would

* Baratier, quoted in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, art. "Roman Catholic Church."

appear, prepared to rest his case against Papal Infallibility on the position occupied by Pope St. Sylvester in the Arian struggle.* He quotes and adopts the saying of a foreign Protestant writer: "L'évêque de Rome fit une triste figure dans cette controverse depuis sa naissance jusqu'au concile de Nicée," and asks "If the Pope was from the very outset the supreme teacher of all Christians, why did he not speak in that character in order to crush Arianism in its beginnings?" (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 15).

A new departure had to be taken, a great experiment had to be made; the first Ecumenical Council had to be assembled, to hear evidence, to debate, and to formulate a creed. Why—on the Papal hypothesis—was all this trouble taken and all this anxiety endured? The Roman writer [*i.e.* Mr. Rivington] so often already referred to appears not unconscious of the naturalness of the question, &c. ("Roman See," p. 67).

Now one would suppose from this that the writer alluded to had propounded the question spontaneously, or in some way admitted its pertinency; whereas he has expressly stated that he is meeting the arguments advanced by Dr. Pusey and by Dr. Bright himself, and also that the question rests on a thorough misconception of the Vatican decree. There is not a word to indicate any consciousness of the "naturalness of the question." On the contrary, it is stated, in reference to such a question being asked at all, that "one of the most curious phenomena of contemporary history is the continued misunderstanding of those decrees by Dr. Pusey and others" ("Prim. Ch." p. 157, note 1).

The question might be answered simply by asking Dr. Bright if he really believes that the Vatican decree precludes the possibility, or even the probability, of a Council in the future? Is he not aware that Pio Nono looked forward to the reassembling of the Vatican Council to deal with another subject? If, therefore, the Vatican decree in no way precludes the prospect of a Council in the future, it cannot be held to be in conflict with the fact of a Council having been held in the past.

But it will be well to point out how Dr. Bright can misrepresent an author whose words he has before him. It was

* Cf. Bright's "Roman Claims," p. 9, and Preface to "Lives of Three Fathers."

said in the volume from which he quotes, that, considering (1) the close relations between Rome and Alexandria (on which Dr. Bright can lay stress when it suits his purpose), and (2) that Rufinus, who lived in that century, affirms that the Council of Nicæa was summoned in accordance with, or, indeed, as the phrase may mean, in consequence of, the opinion of the priests, *i.e.*, the bishops; and (3) that the sixth General Council, consisting almost entirely of Eastern bishops, and held at Constantinople at a time when the claims of Rome were beyond denial fully before the Eastern mind, attributes the summoning of the council at Nicæa not to Constantine alone, but to the Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester, it is reasonable to suppose that the matter had been discussed between Sylvester and the Bishop of Alexandria at least. Further, it was argued that there was no call for an *ex cathedrâ* judgment on the subject from the Pope. To this Dr. Bright replied that the complaint is that "Sylvester did nothing; he left Alexander to work and send out encyclicals; but he uttered no warning, he issued no instruction, &c." (*Church Quarterly Review*, October 1894, p. 16). To this it was replied that Dr. Bright was "simply coining history to support his theme. He seems to be entirely oblivious of the crucial fact that almost all Papal letters, decrees, and encyclicals up to the time of Siricius have been lost"—in fact, that Dr. Bright argues from "the absence of records to the silence of the man. He (Sylvester) did nothing, therefore his jurisdiction was not supreme."

Dr. Bright, in answer to this, now ("Roman See," p. 70) makes his opponent suggest that the Christians had "suffered a Papal judgment against Arianism to perish as a document and be forgotten as a fact," and that, too, an *ex cathedrâ* judgment! And this palpable and grave misrepresentation has been hailed elsewhere as a brilliant reply. It rests on a perfectly false allegation. There was no suggestion of an *ex cathedrâ* judgment having been passed; for the whole argument was to the effect that we have no right even to say that one was needed, or possible, under the circumstances ("Prim. Ch." pp. 158–161).

Dr. Bright has, indeed, given signs of a complete misconception of those circumstances in more than one particular. He appears to consider that the Pope would have done well to

"republish the term [Homoousios], or some other equivalent" (p. 69), nay, that if he was infallible he was obliged to do so. But Dr. Bright betrays by this remark a profound misconception not only of the meaning of infallibility, but of the genius of the time and the nature of the case. That term was in use in Rome and Alexandria, but not as of obligation. It was sanctioned by Rome, ready at hand to be the future key of the situation. But to make it obligatory by a mere high-handed sentence issued from Rome would have been an act of the most futile despotism.

Dr. Bright, however, has denied outright (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 16) that the term was in use in Alexandria, and he has confronted the author of "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter" with the great authority of Cardinal Newman, and invented a contradiction between the two. Let us see how he does it. It had been said ("Prim. Ch." p. 156) that the term Consubstantial was in use at Rome and Alexandria as the fittest symbol (though not yet as the actual symbol enforced or accepted on all Christians) to express the relationship of the Son to the Father. Dr. Bright denied its use at Alexandria, quoting Cardinal Newman's words, "It was adopted as a symbol first at Nicaea" ("Ath. Treat." ii., 438, edit. 2). Now, be it remembered that Mr. Rivington's express statement was that the term *Homoousios* (or Consubstantial) was in use at Rome and Alexandria, *but not of obligation*, whereas Cardinal Newman is speaking of its obligatory use. As to its non-obligatory use, why did not Dr. Bright continue the passage from which he quotes? We will continue the paragraph for him. The Cardinal goes on to say that the term was "already in use in the Alexandrian Church" ("Athan. Treat." ii., 438, edit. 2).

But Dr. Bright not only thus produced a grave misrepresentation of Cardinal Newman, in order to prove a contradiction between his opponent and the Cardinal; he also shows in the passage quoted from "The Roman See," that he does not appreciate the genius of the time.

If Pope Sylvester had any of the best qualities of a ruler, he would feel much as Bishop Alexander and St. Athanasius felt about the particular term *Homoousios*. Dr. Bright objects that the word does not occur in the letters of Alexander. Exactly so, and why? Cardinal Newman shall

give the answer. "The Encyclical letter of S. Alexander [on the deposition of Arius] after St. Athanasius' manner of treating sacred subjects, has hardly one scientific form" ("Athan. Treat." I, ii. p. 3). And he had just before said of St. Athanasius, "This great author scarcely uses any of the scientific phrases which have since been received in the Church and have become dogmatic;" and again, "A good instance of his manner is afforded by the long passage, 'Orat.' iii. 30-58, which is full of theology with scarcely a dogmatic word. The case is the same with his treatment of the Incarnation." It would therefore have been quite out of accord with the method of controversy adopted by St. Athanasius both before and after the Nicene Council, to have insisted on the use of the term *Homousios*, before discovering that it was the only one that would satisfy the case. This was a discovery which, so far as we know, Sylvester had not made; it was no part of the prerogative of Papal Infallibility (apart from a Council) to make it; it would have required an inspiration; and infallibility, as Dr. Bright knows, is not inspiration.* It was discovered by dispute with the Bishops in Council, so St. Athanasius tells us, that nothing else would do but the enforcement of that term, which for more than 60 years had had the sanction of Rome and been used at Alexandria. Thus the republication of the term (previous to the Council), which Dr. Bright considers to have been a necessity of the case, if Papal Infallibility was substantially primitive, would have been an instance of that want of spiritual tact which so often ruins a cause.

But in another respect Dr. Bright has failed to grasp the historical situation. He thinks that Pope Sylvester ought to have "republished the term [Homousios] or some other equivalent," "during the exigencies of A.D. 319-325" ("Rom. See," p. 68). But there were no "exigencies" during the greater part of that time which called for Papal intervention. In 319, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, wrote his pastoral against the heresy of Arius, a priest of the diocese; and it was signed by his priests and deacons. This certainly was

* If Dr. Bright had studied the historical introduction to the decree, which he thinks was published twenty years after (*cf. supra*, p. 11), he would understand that the Vatican Council expressly disclaims the power of the Pope to exercise his infallibility *in all cases* without the means of a Council.

not the stage for Papal intervention. The heresy "then spread," as St. Alexander said, "through all Egypt, Libya, and Upper Thebais"—that is to say, in his Patriarchate, so to call it by anticipation. He therefore convened a synod of nearly one hundred bishops, and anathematised the Arians and their sympathisers. Sylvester did not indolently "leave" him to do this, as Dr. Bright expressed it (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 16); it was his own proper work. The Synod was held at Alexandria in 321. We have therefore only now come to the stage in which Papal intervention would naturally be invoked. But what happened? Arius went off to the East and began to delude some Eastern bishops with his equivocations. It was a matter of the greatest difficulty all along to know what exactly these Easterns meant—to what extent their sympathy went—and how far they were being hoodwinked by Arius. Certainly there was no room as yet for an *ex cathedra* Papal pronouncement. Papal intervention might be expected on the "Papal hypothesis," on which Dr. Bright here professes to argue, to proceed on the lines of ordinary justice: but justice required that suspected bishops should be examined or conferred with. In A.D. 323, the increased excitement through the return of Arius to Alexandria, and the synod held at Bithynia professing to restore him and appealing to bishops to take his side, created, indeed, a situation in which the intervention of the Papacy *would* naturally be invoked. But except in the earliest part of that year, the state of things in the East under Licinius precluded any official communication of the nature required for the preliminaries of an *ex cathedra* decision. It is not certain, indeed, that any active interference from the West was possible for some time before the contest between Licinius and Constantine; for although there are not sufficient grounds for believing in an actual persecution of Christians under the Eastern Emperor, it seems probable that meetings of bishops were looked upon with jealousy. Anyhow, at the time when first the situation could be said to call for intervention from Rome (on the Papal hypothesis) war broke out between the Emperors. Thus, during the first five of the six years selected by Dr. Bright as calling for Papal intervention there was either no call or no room for such action. And after the defeat of Licinius, the idea of a General Council

—that is to say, practically an Eastern Council with the Papal legates—had arisen ; and this was an infinitely better way of bringing out the real nature of the disease to be healed, and the remedy to be applied—infinitely better, *on the Papal hypothesis*—than any *ex cathedrā* pronouncement from Rome, with insufficient materials for judging and at a distance from the scene of conflict. Such a pronouncement would have been the act of an impetuous despot.

And there is nothing to contradict the supposition that this was the opinion of St. Sylvester himself. The opinion of the bishops, which, according to Rufinus, determined the Imperial action, included, in all reason, the opinion of the bishop whom Dr. Bright would himself call the *primus inter pares*. He gave his consent ; he sent his legates, not surely without any instructions, and as the Synod of ninety bishops under St. Damasus, about forty years later, could write to the East,

Our ancestors, three hundred and eighteen bishops and [those] sent from the city of the most holy bishop of the City of Rome, a council having been arranged at Nicæa, erected this bulwark against the weapons of the devil.

We must, therefore, conclude that Dr. Bright's main disproof from history of Papal Infallibility not only ignores the express statement of the Vatican Council as to the relation of the Pope to a Council, but it also proceeds upon a misconception of the historical situation during the years 319–325 A.D. There was no time within that period when Sylvester could have acted as St. Victor did. This latter Pope had shown what could be done under some circumstances. He set the whole Christian world in motion through his requests that synods should be held and their reports sent in to him, not merely throughout the Roman Empire, but in Osroene, beyond its confines. This, as we have seen, was not possible under the circumstances of the Arian struggle during the years 319–325 A.D. For during the first part of that short period things were not in a condition for Papal intervention, which does not ordinarily occur until local efforts have been exhausted. And when these were insufficient, the idea of a Council came on to the scene, an Eastern Council with Papal legates, for such, in point of fact, it was—in which the doctrine required by Pope St. Dionysius of his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, was

expressed in the term already in use at Rome and Alexandria, now made obligatory by its insertion in a creed.

A word or two in conclusion. We notice that on p. 209, Dr. Bright sneers at the author of "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," for speaking of "the Homoousios"—no doubt a very unscholarly expression. But it is Dr. Bright's invention. It does not occur in the passage to which he refers, nor anywhere else in the book. The expression used is "the term Homoousios," an expression used by Cardinal Newman in English, and by Cardinal Franzelin in the Latin equivalent "Vox Homoousios." Why does Dr. Bright go out of his way to bespatter his opponent? At least he might keep to the truth.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

NOTE.—We have not noticed one other extraordinary argument used by Dr. Bright to show that St. Sylvester ought to have republished the term Homoousios—viz., that "it was at any rate [sic] widely believed that the term was actually withdrawn by the great Council of Antioch" ("Roman See," p. 69). St. Athanasius lets us know ("De Synod," 43) that such withdrawal was unknown to him. And if it had not reached Alexandria, the centre of the conflict, it was not likely to have reached Rome.

ART. III.—SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD.

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD was the son of Sir Thomas Englefield, Kt., by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Kt. He was born about the year 1522, but the place of his birth has not been ascertained.

It is stated on the strength of a family tradition (Eyston MSS.), that he was brought up to the law, and seeing that his father was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, this does not seem improbable, although no record remains of the place of his education. In 1547 he was High Sheriff for Berks, and in 1549 we find him attached to the household of the Princess Mary.

In this position, as one of Mary's chief officers, Sir Francis had some foretaste of the troubles which were to beset him later in life on account of his fidelity to the religion of his fathers.

In the year 1549 the Protector Somerset endeavoured to force the Princess Mary to conform to the service of the Established Church, and he required her to give up to the Privy Council Dr. Hopeton, her chaplain, Rochester, her comptroller, and Sir Francis Englefield, her chief officer.

Mary refused, and no doubt Somerset would have resorted to extreme measures had not the Spanish ambassador interfered, and threatened to leave England and declare war if his master's kinswoman was molested in the exercise of her religion. The respite did not, however, last long, for in a very few months Francis Mallet, head chaplain to Mary, and a man of much learning and piety, was seized and imprisoned in the Tower, where he was watched day and night.

Mary expostulated with the King and strongly urged Mallet's release, but her letters were disregarded. She, nevertheless, continued to have mass celebrated, as usual, in her house at Copthall, in Essex, by her other chaplains.

Further efforts were made to prevent mass being said, and to force the princess to adopt the services of the Church of England. On August 11, 1551, the King and Council sent for Rochester, Waldegrave, and Englefield, and, after many

threats and persuasions, ordered them to return to their mistress and inform her and her chaplains that mass must be discontinued. They further charged these, her personal servants, to enforce their orders and control in her own house the actions of their mistress in matters of religion. "If she in consequence discharged them, they were to stay all the same and enforce the King's orders" (Privy Council book and Ellis letters). So far as conveying the message, they obeyed the order of the Council.

Mary naturally enough resented the interference and refused compliance, and returned by her three servants a long letter to the king setting forth her reasons for disobeying his commands. This letter was delivered to Edward at Windsor, and several days were occupied in considering its contents. At length a reply was framed which to all intents and purposes was a repetition of the former commands.

Rochester was charged to convey the message, but he refused. "They might send him to prison if they liked, but as to face his mistress on any such errand he would not" (Privy Council book Ed. vi.). Waldegrave and Englefield likewise refused on the ground that to interfere with the religious rites of their mistress would be against their consciences.

The result was that all three were committed first to the Fleet Prison (Oct. 30, 1551), and then to the Tower, where they remained until April 24, 1552.

Finding Mary's servants would not act as their envoys, a deputation from the Council waited on the princess. Their errand, however, was fruitless, for Mary declared, "rather than use any other service than that ordained during the life of my father, I will lay my head on the block."

The princess appears to have gained her ends, for evidence exists of the mass being said in her house to within a few weeks of King Edward's death.

With the accession of Mary the fortunes of Sir Francis Englefield rose rapidly, and during her short reign he reaped the reward of fidelity to his mistress in the days of her adversity.

Miss Strickland, in her lives of the "Queens of England," speaks of him as the confidential friend of Queen Mary, and praises him highly for his straightforward honesty in all deal-

ings. To Sir Francis Englefield, Rochester, and Sir William Petre, Mary first confided her plans for the restoration of the Church lands and religious houses.

Englefield was made a Privy Councillor and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and was elected member of Parliament for Berks.

He was appointed lord of the hundreds of Reading and Theale, which office formerly pertained to the Abbot and Convent of Reading.

Among other gifts he received a grant of the manors of Farringdon, Pangbourne and Whitley, and of the Abbot's house at Cholsey (1, 2, 4, 5, Phil. and Mary).

Although, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Englefield ceased to take that prominent part in the councils of England which he had hitherto done, the chief and most difficult part of his life has to be written.

For this, material is not wanting, but it is of a kind most difficult to analyse.

The brief accounts of Sir Francis, which have from time to time appeared, simply brand him as "a traitor to his country, steeped in treason." No extenuating circumstances are advanced, neither is the condition of the times during which he lived, nor the position into which he may be said to have been forced, taken into consideration.

Of disloyalty to his country, so far as aiding the King of Spain in his happily fruitless attempt to invade England, he can be fully acquitted. Fitzherbert, who was contemporary with Sir Francis at the Spanish Court, says:

Sir Francis Englefield and all the rest of the English Catholics, who had interest with the King of Spain, represented all the solid reasons they could think of to divert him from the conquering of England, and to persuade him that if he should subdue it he would not be able to keep it long in subjection.

No letters written by or to Sir Francis Englefield tend to implicate him in the project of the Spanish king. Indeed, the only letters we have of that period to Sir Francis (there are none from him) merely relate news of the Armada in conjunction with other gossip. There are letters and extracts of letters from those well-known-to-be enemies of Sir Francis,

which tend to incriminate him, but these, without other evidence, must be looked upon with suspicion. Indeed, the very vague way in which they are worded leads one to suppose that the matter hinted at was founded more on suspicion than on fact. Whatever may be said of Sir Francis Englefield's connection with the plot for the Spanish invasion, it cannot be denied that he favoured the adherents of the Scottish queen. Whether this intrigue in the affairs of Marie Stuart was merely an endeavour to free her from her English prison and save her life, or of a deeper nature which sought to place her on the English throne during the lifetime of Elizabeth, is difficult to determine.

There is no documentary evidence to show that Sir Francis Englefield sought to place Marie Stuart on the throne to the exclusion of Elizabeth; but it is clear that he made efforts to obtain her release from her English prison, and to secure to her the right of succession to the English Crown at her cousin's death—a right which was acknowledged by the accession of her son James.

Shortly after the death of Queen Mary, Sir Francis Englefield obtained permission to travel abroad. The MS. life of Sir Francis preserved at Hendred, states that :

Finding the Queen bent on a change of religion, and he himself being desirous to stick out without disturbance to his, left the nation and made his estates over to his brother John with remainder to John's son, without power of revoking except by the tender of a certain ring.

Although he left England sometime during the year 1559, we first hear of Sir Francis officially two years later.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in Paris, writing to Queen Elizabeth, May 9, 1561, says :

On the 6th Sir Francis Englefield came to this town out of Italy. He desires that his licence may be continued that he may pass over next August at the baths of Liège for the more perfect recovery of his health.

Another letter of the same date, from Throckmorton to Cecil, encloses one from Sir Francis with a similar request. Gresham writing to Cecil in the following September relates that "Englefield is at Louvain, and intends to come home shortly." Further leave seems to have been granted, for

Throckmorton writes to Cecil, October 9, 1561: "Englefield acknowledges himself bound (indebted) to you for prolonging his stay abroad."

In a letter written from Padua, February 5, 1561, by Sir Francis Englefield to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he recites a piece of gossip as follows:

From Flanders, France, and Rome it has been so often written that the Queen is secretly married, that no man will believe the contrary, but no Englishman here has any such knowledge.

A month later (March 3, 1561) we find Sir Francis again writing to Throckmorton, stating that within fourteen days he will be on his way to Flanders, and he asks Throckmorton to address his reply to him in the care of Richard Batson, English merchant, at the sign of J.H.S., Greyfriars St., Antwerp.

The reply he expected was probably continued leave to remain abroad. If such was the case the leave was not granted; for the Queen in a letter dated from Westminster, May 10, 1562, "commands him, as the term of his licence has long expired, to repair from beyond the seas to her upon pain of her displeasure," and on the same date Cecil also writes: "Is sorry he could not prolong his stay. He may return without peril, but if he shall otherwise determine he will find lack."

Sir Francis replied to the Queen from Bruges, May 31, 1562, as follows:

Has received her letter commanding his return home, the experience of her clemency has emboldened him to lay before her the cause of his desire to be absent. It does not proceed from indevotion, as his due respect to her in her sister's time sufficiently witnesses. Besides his bodily health, formerly and truly alleged, there is a certain grudge and loathness which he has always felt to be a slanderous or offended subject, joined with a persuaded conscience that will not suffer him to conform to the laws or orders of that religion present, which scruple he leaves to her consideration. Her own unpleasant experience will have taught her the great force that conscience carries. He chooses by his absence to leave unshown the service he owes to her, since in causes of religion his conscience is not pliable, in which matter God and forty years time have settled him. He is forced to choose either the insatiable worm of a guilty conscience or to be unpleasant to her.*

* Cal. State Papers, foreign series.

To make the objections contained in the foregoing letter clear, it will be necessary to refer to the position of the Catholics in England at this period.

The earlier penal laws of Elizabeth's reign made it impossible for any heir holding under the crown to sue out the livery of his lands, or for any person to accept office under the crown without first taking the oath of supremacy.

Although the oath of supremacy was to all intents and purposes a renunciation of Catholic doctrines, its limitation to the two classes named made it possible for the majority of Catholics to avoid it.

However, in the second parliament of Elizabeth more stringent measures were adopted, and these were so far-reaching that they necessitated the conformity to the Established Church, or the punishment of every Catholic of whatever degree in the realm.

The obligation of taking the oath was extended to members of the House of Commons, to schoolmasters and private tutors, to attorneys, and to all who had held office in the Church or in ecclesiastical courts during the last three reigns, and also to such as should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should celebrate or hear others celebrate any private mass. The penalty for the first refusal was forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment, and for the second refusal the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason.

With the knowledge that a return to England meant either imprisonment (perhaps death) or the taking of an oath which his conscience would not sanction, it is not to be wondered that Sir Francis Englefield preferred to keep beyond the reach of Elizabeth and her ministers.

Cecil, it is true, had told him he might "return without peril," but probably the experience of others had taught him the value of such an expression.

There appear to be no letters to show whether the Queen replied to Sir Francis' appeal of May 31, 1562,* nor do we know if at this period he made any further attempt to appease her majesty.

* In 1562 Sir Francis appears to have presented Alexander Clarke as vicar of Shiplake, Oxon.

The sequestration of his property took place within twelve months, although the Act of Parliament confirming the robbery was not passed until some years later.

A list of the manors seized, dated July 13, 1563, is in the Record Office, and a letter from Sir John Mason to Challoner, of July 19 of the same year, contains this passage: "Mr. Englefield having refused to return to England has had his goods and lands sequestered to the Queen's use."

Strype's "Annales," cap. 36, p. 371, records that "some considerable difficulty arose in seizing Englefield's estates owing to the settlement he had made, but eventually the judges decided in the Queen's favour, and she seized them."

Immediately on receiving news of the seizure, Sir Francis wrote (August 18, 1563) a long letter to the Privy Council, stating

That he was rather an unwilling offender than a malicious one, and that his cause was not unworthy of their honours' accustomed commendation unto her Majesty's clemency. That where he was charged with adhering to her Majesty's enemies and rebels. He answered that he never yet had been in a place where anyone so showed himself, nor was so manifested, that he might know him for such. That where he was called once, though not often, commanded to make a speedy return he granted he did not perform it. But he prayed them to call to mind of what faith and conscience they had known him always to have been in religion consonant to that he had been taught and bred up in, and the present orders, proceedings, and laws in England so dissonant and varying therefrom, which two laid together did show how hard a choice was left to him—viz., either in following the laws to wrest and strain his conscience, or by not obeying them to offend his prince. He yielded to embrace a third, and to sequester himself unto a private life in some other place. That his conscience was not made of wax. That many of their lordships had tasted largely of the invincible force of conscience, and her untractable nature on which side soever she take. She might be crazed and cracked by things infinite that seemed but small, and being once forced to fayle in the least that canker was never curable after. But to change and alter she could not be framed by man's power or policy till God pleased to draw her being once firmly fixed. That though that little he was threatened to lose could not draw him presently to the offence of his prince, yet what lack and necessity might hereafter do he dared not warrant nor take on him to say. He prayed their lordships, therefore, to be the means to her Majesty's clemency for him in this cause; that he might be spared as hitherto to enjoy that small portion of living yet left him. He bad them reject his suit if he sought to find more favour now than heretofore when his lot served he was willing to

show, or than by his help others had enjoyed. That if the place or company where he lived did offend, he should be always willing to change the same and conform to the Queen's devotion.

Sir Francis wrote a somewhat similar letter to the Council again in April 1564, and also one to Cecil. Both are dated from Antwerp. In his letter to Cecil, Sir Francis

complains of malicious insinuations against him to the prejudice of his suit to her Majesty. He professes great loyalty and reverence, and encloses a copy of the assignment of his wife's revenues which he entreats may be faithfully performed.*

To this point there appears nothing whatever beyond the insinuations of his enemies to implicate Sir Francis Englefield in any kind of intrigue against Elizabeth. The only charge brought against him, so far as documents show, is his refusal to return to England. This charge he admits, and explains his reasons for disobeying—viz., his inability to conform to the religion established by law. He is profuse in his expressions of loyalty, and offers to reside at any place the Queen may appoint, but he is evidently determined not to risk the temptation to a denial of his religious belief which a return to England might place before him. He hints in his letter to the Council that although now loyal, a time may come when he may be driven to an opposite course, and we get perhaps the first intimation of this break two years later, when we find Sir Francis writing to Wilson in obscure terms and enjoining him to burn the letter.

This Wilson is mentioned in a letter from Bedford to Cecil (Nov. 29, 1565), as follows: "The bearer is the rankest papist in Scotland, named Stephen Wilson, who receives letters from Mr. Englefield."

ENGLEFIELD TO WILSON. (Cecil Papers, No. 219).

Jhesus Maria.

Gentle Mr. Stephen I receyvyd thys day your courteouse commendations, and Remembraunce in your letters to my good lorde, the bearer hereof: is haste ys suche towards you, that I have scarce tyme inougue to wryte thes few words of thanks unto you. And the trewthe ys, I heare no neues worthye the wrytinge other than such as my lord cane declare unto

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

you, and very lately I was so bolde to vysyte you with a few lynes of my commendations, sent by a gentleman of my countrey and acquayntans that went last thys way towards you. My lorde cane tell you hys name. Thus thynking yt but Follye to double that by letters, wch my lorde here cane tell you, I commytle you for thys tyme to our lord's governance, & my selfe moste hartely unto you, & to every one ells, where eny way I owe yt.
At Lovayne the 17 of August 1565.

Your owne assueryd to my lyttle power

FRAUNCEYS ENGLEFYLD.

I pray you keape noo suche papers as thes are, when you have ones Readde them : but burne them forthwith.—
Addressed : To the worshipfull Mr. . . . n Wylyson gent.

The above letter is endorsed as follows in Burghley's handwriting :

"17. Aug. 1565 Sir Fs. Englefeild to Wilson a Scottishman"

It seems therefore probable that it never reached its destination.

Sir Francis Englefield appears not to have given up all hope of recovering some portion of his property, for we find him seeking the assistance of the King of Spain to intercede in his behalf to Queen Elizabeth.

In a letter to Cecil from Madrid, December 18, 1566, Sir Francis writes : " Herewith comes the King of Spains letter to the Queen on my behalfe which I beseech you to aid."

The King's request was conveyed through Man,* the English ambassador, who writes to the Queen as follows, December 19, 1566 :

The King has willed me to write in favour of Sir Francis Englefield that he may have in what place he likes best to live the revenues of his lands.

In a letter to Cecil, January 22, 1567, Man says : " Englefield bears great countenance here"

The Queen's reply to Man is dated February 25, 1567.

Cannot grant the King of Spain's request for Sir Francis Englefield to enjoy his lands abroad on account of his misbehaviour.

This letter must have been some time in transit, for Man, writing to Cecil March 3, 1567, says :

* John Man, ambassador to Spain.

"Has been required the queens answer to the Kings suit for Sir F. Englefield"

In the same letter he reports :

There are strange rumours in the Court of alterations of religion in England, amongst other things that the Queen has given licence to all that will to hear mass.

King Philip wrote again to Elizabeth on behalf of Sir Francis. His letter is dated March 30, 1568.* It appears to have been a third appeal, for Englefield, writing to Cecil from Madrid, April 1, 1568, says :

If any go about to defame me of importunity or any other error in that the King of Spain writes now the third time in my favour

He then goes on to excuse the justness of his suit, and places his trust in Cecil, assuring him that "he will not cast away his benefits upon an ungrateful man." This may have been mere figurative language, but it reads somewhat like a hint at something more substantial to the advantage of the minister.

It is pretty evident that the King of Spain took up the cause of Sir Francis Englefield with considerable energy, for in the Cal. of State Papers—Cecil 155/116—col. i. p. 387, "Affairs of Spain," A.D. 1568, we find the following :

At his departure towards England he (Harrington) told my lord ambassador that the king had willed him to join with his ambassador here in England about Sir Francis Englefield, his matter

* * * * *

Mr. Hug . . . ines brought news unto my Lord Ambassador . . . that a great man should say that it would not be long eer our Queen should be glad to request at the King of Spains hands as great matter as that of Sir Francis Englefields is.

Man, writing to Cecil, April 11, 1568, says: "Sir Francis Englefield has bought a house in this town and as void of hope to obtain his suit purposes to give himself entirely to the King."

The latter part of this communication is proved to be mere supposition, by the fact that on the very same date Englefield writes to Cecil as follows :

* This would be one month after the date of Elizabeth's letter of Feb. 25, 1567, really 1568 our style

MADRID, April 11, 1568.—As to my returning there is a danger of life by an unjust taxing me with adhering to rebels and the queens enemies while my conscience remains persuaded as it is there is no possible way to live in England without the plain condemnation thereof inwardly, and the public offence of my sovereign, by being scandalous to her subjects and a breaker of her laws.

Again, writing to Cecil, July 1, 1568, Sir Francis begs him to favour the King of Spain's request

to the queen for him. He professes fidelity to the queen and affection to his country albeit for necessity's sake he is forced not to refuse the liberality of the King of Spain.

Elizabeth's reply to the King of Spain is dated February 25, 1568. The draft among the State Papers (Foreign Series) is in Cecil's handwriting, as follows :

Has received his (Philip's) letter of Jany. 22 [this seems to imply another letter after that of March 30] in favour of Sir Francis Englefield who has made suit to him without just or reasonable ground, for no subject has had such favour in the like case as he had. Before he departed out of the realm he was never molested in the matter of his religion, for which he pretends he absents himself and after the time of his licence expired he was upon his suit made by his own letters favourably borne withall. But finding no part of these favours could prevail with him and hearing also his disposition to maintain certain lewed and seditious persons fled out of her realm under pretence of religion. She, following the example of her predecessors and especially of Queen Mary "whose soul &c &c" caused inquisition to be made of his goods and lands and commanded them to be seized. She has never caused a penny of his goods to be taken for her own use but relieved his wife with some convenient portion and left all the rest in the hands of his friends and servants.

The statement as to the disposition of the estates can only be classed as a deliberate lie. The statement that "he was never molested on account of his religion before he left England" is true enough, for the simple reason that Sir Francis left his country within a very short period of Elizabeth's accession, and therefore before active persecution of the Catholics had commenced.

Taking the letter as a whole, where it does not actually lie, it is a feeble attempt to justify an unjust action, and throw dust in the eyes of the Spanish king.

It will have been noticed that the preceding letters for the years 1567 and 1568 refer solely to the private affairs of Sir

Francis Englefield. So far as I have been able to ascertain, no other documents of these dates exist that can in any way be connected with Sir Francis, neither can I find a single letter from or to him for the year 1569. This is somewhat remarkable, for we find his name appears in the list of those attainted for being concerned in the Northern rebellion. He being described as a fugitive (Stat. of Realm, v. 549); a fugitive, far from the scene of the rising, he must, if implicated, have sent and received letters to those with whom he was working; and yet, strange to say, not a vestige of any such correspondence can be found.

It cannot of course be doubted but that Sir Francis was fully aware of what was likely to take place, but it is certainly in his favour that no proof of his active interference is on record.

In April, 1570, Sir Francis Englefield was in the Low Countries, for we find him writing from Louvain to the Duchess of Feria—who, as Jane Dormer, had been with Englefield attached to Queen Mary's (Tudor) household.

In this letter he refers to a plot which is said, on good authority, to have been arranged between Elizabeth and the Regent Murray for the destruction of the Scottish Queen, a plot only frustrated by the death of Murray.

The reference is as follows :

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO THE DUCHESS OF FERIA.

.... The Queen of Scotland continues prisoner at Tutbury. She had been delivered into James' (Murray) hands, or worse, conveyed away if he had not been slain. She was, under pretence of favour, to be carried about to see the country, and take recreation after her long restraint, and by hunting and hawking from place to place brought near to Bristol, where she could have been embarked by force at night; and in the morning her keepers and guard were to make an outcry and raise the country and pursue her, saying she was run away into France. Then the ship, some say, was to be drowned next night, the master and mariners escaping in a pinnace. The ship was on its way to Bristol when James (Murray) was slain, and was taken by two or three French ships that went to virtual Dumbarton Castle, besieged by James' command. This talk comes from London, give it what credit you please.

LOUVAIN, April 1570.

The correspondence of the following year (among the Cecil MSS.) brings to light one of those despicable characters—

spies on their fellows—whom the ministers of State employed as their tools at this period.

This person was Charles Bailly, who first appears as a messenger from the Bishop of Ross, the agent of Mary Stuart, and next as a correspondent to Lord Burleigh and the Council, to whom he reveals what little he has been able to glean to the disadvantage of those he pretended to serve. It is true the information he gives is of small value, and tends rather in favour of than against Sir Francis Englefield; nevertheless, it too plainly shows the dangers of the time and the little reliance suspected persons could place in their supposed friends. The letters are as follows:

CHARLES BAILLY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

April 20th, 1571.—The Prior of the Carthusians at Bruges showed the writer where he should find Sir Francis Englefield, with whom he spoke by a nunnery half a league from Antwerp.*

CHARLES BAILLY TO LORD BURLEY.†

May 2nd, 1571.—Though he will lose his credit with the Bishop of Ross, and the service he has done the Queen of Scots for seven years; putting all his confidence in Burley, he has thought good to recite to his lordship that he went to Sir Francis Englefield to find the books, and missing them passed to Brussels where he met Rudolphi.

His letter to the Council is practically the same as to Burleigh.

The next document, in chronological order, from among the Cecil papers, is the confession of Richard Smith, and this goes very far to show that Sir Francis Englefield at this period had no thoughts of dethroning Elizabeth in favour of the Queen of Scots. He seeks to have the Scottish Queen declared heir to the Crown and free to return to her country, and even goes so far as to explain how certain matters can be arranged “without any offence to the Queen of England.”

As the confession is a long one, only the passages which refer to the subject of this history are given:

* This is in cypher (Cecil MS. 1550).
 † Cecil MS. 1561.

RICHARD SMITH'S CONFESSION (CALEND. 1, p. 553).

October 27th, 1571.

In what services Stukley did specially use him and what services he hath done unto the said Stukley.

I served him as steward of his household and he would also sometimes make me privy to some of such letters as were sent into the Duches of Ferye out of Flanders from Sir Francis Englefield.

How many letters did he see of Sir Fr. Englefield's and of what effect they were.

I first saw a letter wherein he wrote of the choosing of "a eare parante" [heir apparent] to the crown of Engl—, which he said should be the King of Scots, and that the principal persuaders of it were Mr. Secretary and Sir Walter Mildmay, and that thereupon the Queen of Scots should be delivered home to her country and in the same letter he persuaded the Ducke of Ferye to work that the King of Spain might allow her a guard of 400 Spaniers whereby she may the better recover her estate among so many enemies as she had in her own country and that this might be very well done without any offence to the Q of Engl—, and that by that means that party might have the better hand in furthering their religion.

And in other letters he wrote that Stukley might be stayed in Spain as a man very necessary to be "owsed" [P used] to conduct men and to do some service by sea when either the Earls of Westmorland or Northumberland might enter into Scotland, and with the aid of 6000 Spaniards to come into the North part of England, and that if this were taken in hand all was theirs, and that if this might not be obtained being so "sured" [P assured] of so great aid as they had in the north, he would bestow himself where he would never be seen of any man that knew him, upon which writing of this Stu[k]ley* was stayed longer in the country than otherwise he should have been.

A letter from Sir William Drury to Lord Burghley, dated from Leith, April 13, 1572, contains this passage:

It seems by his speech that Sir Francis Englefield was a great doer in the articles which he brought from the Duke of Alva.

In June of the same year, Robert Hagan solicits of the Earl of Leicester a lease of part of the lands of Sir Francis Englefield. A year later (Cal. S.P., foreign, 1573) we find Sir Francis Englefield writing from Malines to Chapin Vitelli

* Thomas Stukely, according to Lingard (vi. 157), "was an English adventurer without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each."

in commendation of Hugh Owen, a catholic gentleman, who, on account of his religion, has been obliged to leave his country and family, and desiring he will assist him in obtaining the payment of twenty crowns per month promised to him by the King of Spain.

This is not the only instance we shall have to record of Sir Francis Englefield using his influence to obtain support for his countrymen in exile.

The extracts which follow, from three letters written by Sir Francis Englefield to William Cotton, probably refer to the further efforts which were being made to free the Scottish Queen.

ENGLEFIELD TO WM. COTTON.

ANTWERP, May 28, 1575.

Fears the news of their banishment may deter many lending assistance to the cause.*

ENGLEFIELD TO COTTON.

Aug. 31, 1575.

Commends Cotton's proceedings. Recommends the bearer, Thomas Evans, to follow his (Cotton's) company as a merchant. He may be trusted, though a Welshman.†

ENGLEFIELD TO COTTON.

LIÈGE, Dec. 10, 1575.

Desires him not to let the opposition he has met with put a stop to his endeavours. Has been obliged to change his residence on account of health and safety.‡

The next letter is dated from Brussels, Jan. 23, 1575, from Sir Francis Englefield to Dr. Wilson :

Desires that he will vouchsafe to give him some written testimony of the effect of the message sent to him by the Earl of Westmorland as far forth as it touched him. Regarding how much the accusation imports him, trusts he will excuse him for not leaving anything undone tending to his defence. As for his further commandment to use his endeavours to bring to light the author of that book, will within three or four days send some one to him that by personal conference with him he may more largely understand all the circumstances.

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

† Cal. State Papers, foreign.

‡ *Ibid.*

The above seems to imply that the Earl of Westmorland had made some accusation against Sir Francis which he is anxious to disprove. Two years later Dr. Wilson, writing to Burleigh from Brussels, Jan. 28, 1577, says:

Has busied himself these two days about the papers of a lewed and most horrible varlet William Cotton. Has collected twenty, which he sends. Also a catalogue of the English Catholics as he has enrolled them, and also those whom he pleases to call heretics. They seek only the setting-up of the Scottish Queen. Cannot trust any of them, and mislikes greatly with Sir Francis Englefield who writes so earnestly and so often to so very a varlet as Cotton is.

It may be here remarked that most of the correspondence between the friends of Marie Stuart until this period merely refers to her release and the acknowledgment of her right to the succession after Elizabeth. The evidence that their intention was "the setting-up of the Scottish Queen" comes only from those in the pay of Elizabeth and her ministers. The two letters which follow may, however, be taken to implicate the friends of Marie Stuart in the deeper scheme, for they refer, without doubt, to the wild project of Don Juan of Austria, who contemplated the invasion of England, the deposition of Elizabeth, and the enthronement of the Scottish Queen in her stead. Don Juan's reward, according to his visionary project, was to be the hand of Marie Stuart, with whom he was to reign as King of England. Pope Gregory gave his adhesion to the scheme, but the moment it was mentioned to Philip of Spain he rejected it. Don Juan died shortly after, and the plot fell through. The letters are Dr. Wilson to Burleigh from Brussels, Feb. 1, 1577.

Mr. Horsey can tell you what was done at Marche by Sir Francis Englefield in presenting a roll to Don Juan of those belike who were Catholics and the Queen of Scots' friends.*

Advertisement by Haye, Feb. 20, 1577.

There have been divers practices with Don Juan by Sir Francis Englefield and the Countess of Northumberland as concerning the Queen of Scots who have let him understand that with a small number of horsemen upon the sudden it is very easy to carry her away. Gabriel Dennis

* Cal. State Papers, foreign.

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is the solicitor in the matter for the said Sir Francis Englefield to Escovedo, and he the means to Don Juan. There have been of late in Namur many Englishmen, but since the writers coming all are gone except Sir Francis Englefield, who is hid in a nunnery.*

A list of English exiles of this period is in the Public Record Office, London (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 105, n. 10). It refers to Englefield as follows:

Sir Frauncis Ingefled, knight, abideth commonly at Bruxelles; somme tyme he is at Machlin. He hath his owld pencion still, which he had beinge councellour in Q. Maries tyme, of the K. of Spaigne, by moneth. . . . He rideth allwayes with 4 good horse.

The next document, in point of date, shows that Sir Francis Englefield had become so reduced in fortune, by the seizure of his estates, as to require the further assistance of the King of Spain for his support. It is an order from the King to the Duke of Alva for the payment to Sir Francis of 1000 florins per year. The original, in Spanish, is in the archives of the English College at Valladolid.

THE KING.

Duke of Alva, chief of our Council of State, Head major domo, Governor, Lieutenant and Captain General in my Low Countries. In consideration of the quality of Francis Englefield, an English gentleman who will present this to you, and of his great services rendered to me and to the most Serene Queen Mary, my wife who is in glory, being, as he was, one of our Counsellors in England, and also of what he has lost and suffered to preserve like a good and faithful Catholic our pure, ancient and true religion, I have thought good to give him a thousand florins for his maintenance yearly, of twenty placas each one, under your consignment, wherewith he may be able to support himself until he may recover the estate which, as you are aware, the Queen of England has sequestered from him, and in the meantime, so long as it be my will, residing there or where you may ordaine, being engaged as you may wish to occupy him, and conformable hereunto we charge and command you to provide and give the order which is requisite and usual, that from the day of the date of the present, henceforth for the time and with the limitation here mentioned, from the money provided you for the maintenance of the troops kept by us in those states, there be assigned and paid to the said Englefield, or to the person who may legally represent him, the said thousand florins of twenty placas each, in each year, at the times and in the same manner as shall be assigned and

* Cal. State Papers, foreign.

paid to other individuals the like allowances which they hold from us in that army, in whose books of payment you will enter this our schedule and restore the original to the said Englefield that he may hold it as a title of the aforesaid.

Given in Madrid on the thirtieth day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight.

I, the KING.



By order of His Majesty,
GABRIEL DE CAYAS.

Entered in the books of payment of the army of his Majesty, which I hold.

ALONSO ALAMEDA.

Entered in the books of payment of the army of his Majesty, which I hold.

CHRISTOBAL DE CASTELLANOS.
Entered.

To the Duke of Alva, that he orders to be paid to Francis Englefield a thousand florins of twenty placas each year, which his Majesty has assigned him of maintenance until he recover the estate which they hold sequestered in England, and in this meantime during the will of your Majesty.

Sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD to Dr. WILLIAM ALLEN. Madrid, Sept. 4, 1581.
(Westm. archives. Printed in Dodd, vol. ii., pp. 240).

Right worshipfull deare Sir; Albeyt my last unto you of the 21st of August were so late that I have nothing to ad of newe from hens; yet having syns receyved yours wrytten at Montz the 15th of July, I can not pretermytt to acknowledge yt, & withall to advise you that in myne opinion the Prynce of Parma sheweth lytle good will to our spyrtyuall companye in wresting the words of the Kyngs letter to the worst sens for them that possybyl the words can be drawen unto; the Kyngs meaning beying undoubtedly that bothe the treasuries of his fynances & exercito should be chargeable with that almes from tyme to tyme; & so us the literall and most apparent sens of his woords. And I warrant you yt will appeare so, when soever your company shall by any new sewte for want of payment shewe forth the expresse words of his Majesties graunt, & the prejudiciale interpretation made of them to your hynderance. And touching the partycular provisions expected by pryvate men out of that surplusag that ys to be dysposed by Mr. D. Brystowe & you, I doe remember not past fyve or 6 persons that can

justly chalenge any particuler porcyon thereof, to wytt, Mr. D. Knott, Mr. Hargatt, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Freman & Mr. D. Pauley with Fa. Dutche; no mo beyng alyve & present which were allotted any porcyons by the Duke: & theyr porcyons aountyng in all but to 390 florynes by the yeare, there will remayne to your disposition 1210 florynes yerely besyds. For as to the rest which had particuler allotments by the fyve dystributors, no one of them all can justly chalenge any farthing in pryvate, beyng neyther the Kyngs meanyng nor the Dukes that any one should have any permanent state or tyme in that distribution, but that the fyve distributors should at every receipt dyspose the money anewe, & not to them which had yt at the last payment, but as they should fynde the necessytie and worthines of every partie.

So as the fyve former distributors in nominating 30 persons only to partake of the same dyd not only prejudice theyr owne libertie & authorytie therby, but dyd also playne injury to all the rest of the nation that were pore & worthie therof (which by the Kyngs graunt & the Dukes meanyng had as much interest & title thereto as any of them that receyvd the money whensoeuer the distributors should think them worthie therof) & this awthorytie beyng nowe comytted to Mr. D. Bristowe & you, you should not doe well in myne opynion to suffer that former error to have any longer contynnance. Neyther doe I see howe you can suffer such to enjoye yt as will chalenge yt by the tytle of the fyrist distributors, but that you should therby confyrme the error & bynde your selves to contynue the same by namyng still some mo to fyll up the nomber of 30 as at fyrist, & therby doe wrong to all the rest that be come syns, or be to come hereafter, that are to be made partakers of yt by your disposition & discretion as you shall fynde theyr towardnes and necessitie to requyre. I am easely inducyl to beleve that you fynde these courtly sewetes for money very tedious & disagreeable to your mynde: for truly my self did fynde them so to me many yeares together; but therin you must exercise your pacience as not the least penance incident to our banyshment. And yf you dyde see the melancoly condytion & desolate lyfe which I passe & endure here in this tyme of fyre & flame you should se that I want not my part of tedious travells & tournoyales howesover they may differ in qualytie from those which you & others do susteyne. In your letter from Montz you requyre me to performe for Mr. D. Vandeville the pleasure which you requyre of me in his behalfe; but other mencion therof you make none in the world, nor expresse not by any lest sillable what the same ys nor wherin yt consyeth.

Belyke you ment to wryte yt in a paper aparte, & by the other cares of your mynde forgat yt when you made up your letter. In Portugalle newe treasons and conspiracies be discoveryd agaynst this Kyng, which maye occasyon his retorne thens the soner. We heare not yet that Tercera ys recoveryd, nor where the Turks for(e)s arryved at Algier shal be ymployed. A cyvile sedition ys also befallen Malta, where the Great Master ys ymprysoned by the knights of his order. The yong duke of Feria ys nowe free from his fever, & his mother not yet all free

therof; though none of bothe be in any peryll, as the doctors affyrme. Fayne I would heare what you can & will doe for Ro. Heightyngton, that I might resolve upon the rest, beying presently pressed with beggyng letters from England, from Lovayne, from Namur, from Remes, from Roam, from Parys & from Rome, and nothing here to be gotten, therof assure you. At Madryd, the 4th of Septemb., 1581.

Your owne frend,
F. ENGLEFYLDE.

The death of Mr. D. Sander ys not yet confyrm'd from England nor from Ireland, other then upon the report of Mr. Walsyngham and his company.

Addressed
To the right worshipfull & my assuryd good frynd, Mr. docter Allen. Reymys.

The letter which follows from Robert Southwell is without date; but as it was evidently written before he went on the English mission in 1584, it may be placed here. It is among the MSS. preserved at the English College, Valladolid.

I beseache you Mr. Edmunds doe me this favor to trooble Sir Francys Inglefield a thyrde tyme in my behalf. That it wile please hym to let me be accountant to you in the hole for three score ryallstherndth to dryve out these fewe dayes that I am promised a certayn dispatche though perhapps an ill one. I would not trooble his honor this tyme wth wrytinge unto hym, humbly recommending my servyce unto him and to you all frendly goodwill wherein you shall

Command me allways Yo's
ROBT. SOUTHWELL.

One John Froste appears to have been sent at this period to Sir Francis Englefield on a matter of business, and on his return to England he was seized and thrown into Saltash prison. Froste states that the object of his visit to Spain was to negotiate the purchase of a manor by Sir Walter Rawleye of Sir Francis Englefield.

Froste writes to Mrs. Englefield from his prison at Saltash, Aug. 1, 1584, and requests "her, his mistress, to make some suit for his liberation," Mr. Edgecombe and Richard Carew, about the same date, wrote to Walsingham as follows :

We have arrested one John Froste lately arrived from Spain who stated that he had been sent to consult Sir Francis Englefield on the affairs of Sir Walter Rawleye. Have written to Sir Walter Rawleye on the subject.

It is rather singular that only two documents connected with Sir Francis Englefield are to be found of the period immediately preceding the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, viz., for the years 1585-6.

The one is a letter from the Queen to Sir Francis, and the other is said to be* an extract from a letter of Sir Francis to Mary. Both are among the Cecil Papers, and it is very probable that the former never reached its destination. The so-called extract appears to be more a *résumé* of the contents of a letter than an actual copy, and as such must be received with caution.

AN EXTRACT OF CERTAYNE LETARS ARGUING A RESOLUTION OF THE CATHOLIKS TO ENTITLE THE K OF SPAYNE TO THE CROWNE OF ENGLAND.

SIR FR. ENGLEFELD TO THE Q OF SCOTTES, FEB. 1585.

Hereupon Sir Frances Englefeld, the Papistes agent in Spayne, preesing yt King to prosecute the long intended enterprise for deliverye of the Scottish Q out of prison, and deposing her matie now raygning under color of reforming this state and reduction of the whole Ile to the catholike fayth (as they terme theyr relligion) useth this as his last and most effectfull argument to the sayd King. "Admitting yt the Q of Scotland escape all dangers during the life of this Q of England, yett since her passing through the same cannot be without the favor and frendshipp of hereticall authoritie it were neyther wisedome nor pollicye, but apparantly prejudicall to the Catholike Churche to permitt her to acknowledg the savetye of her life and enjoying of her state to the favor of heretikes as also if she perish (which is now most likelye), it cannot be but very scandalous and infamous to your catholike matie because you being after the Q of Scotland, the nerest Catholike yt is to be found of yt blood royll shall ever be subject to the false suspicion and columnia-
tion of leaving and abandonning yt good quene to be devoured by her enemies for making the way more open to his clayme and interest."

It will be seen by the letter which follows that the original of the foregoing, if it really existed, never reached its destination.

Q. OF S. TO SIR F. E. A.D. 1586. (Cecil Papers, 164-59.)

20 May, 1586, the Q of Scottes to Sir Frances Englefelde. Yowr two letters dated the 15th of December, 1584, and 12th of Januarie, 1585, with the copyes of relations therein mentioned came to my handes no sooner then the (blank) of the last monthe. Since the 20th of December

* It is not in Sir F. Englefield's handwriting.

eyghtye-fowre I receaved none of yowrs nor of others abroade, neyther any other intelligence of the world sturring in any parte at all, the meanteime before I had yowr foresayd accompanied with a nomber mo from others of a stale date as they were.

Most strayghtlye have I bene kept this longe time in this captivitie, more miserable then ever throughe the disdayne and negligence of those yt were duly and often foretoldes the inconveniences now happened both to them and me, I am sorrye of the taste wch I presume they have of theyr part thereof more then I am of my owne, and yt I am not able by proceedings past during this discontinuance of intelligence to judge how thinges may stande presentlye, being yett as sharpeleye handled as ever since the change of my first garde, neyther know I in what manner or uppou wch ground to take any cowrse in any thinge eyther towching this Isle or myselfe. Nor by any meanes cold I have advertised yow of this moch if it had not bene poore* Morgan (the chefe and almost the onlye finder owt and director of all the intercourse of intelligences I have had these many yeares past, who hath, notwithstanding his troubles, appoynted me this way for the present, albeit nothing certayne to continue yett, so longe as it doh I will emploie it, and hope by the same, before it be longe, if I can heare of any certayntyne of the present state abroade to lett yow know amplye my opinion of the whole.

I thanke yow most hartelye for yowr continuall care of my well doing, wishing I were able to recognise the same in effect.

Continue, I pray yow, your good offices for poore Morgan, and I pray God to preserve yow. Of May the 20th, at Chartley.

Endorsed : 20 May, 1586, the Q. of Scottes to Fra. Englefelde.

(Contemporary Copy.)

It should be observed that the above is a copy, and not a letter in Queen Marie's handwriting.

On the 8th of February 1586 (1587 new style), Marie Stuart, after eighteen years' imprisonment, suffered death at the hands of the executioner. She protested to the last her innocence of any intrigue in deed or thought against Elizabeth's life or throne, and forgave and prayed for her and for those who had compassed her premature end.

Unfortunately I can find no letters from or to Sir Francis Englefield to give an insight to his feelings when the news of Marie's death reached him.

* "Morgan was agent in France of Mary Q. of Scots. Elizabeth declared that she would give £10,000 for his head. When she sent the garter to Henry III. she demanded that Morgan should be given up to her. Henry, knowing that Morgan could disclose unpleasant matters, satisfied her by sending Morgan to the Bastile and his papers to Elizabeth" (Cal. State Papers, 1586, 366, Dom. series).

In the May following Marie's execution an Englishman appeared at Madrid who called himself Arthur Dudley, and claimed to be the child of Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester. The particulars concerning him are to be found among the documents preserved at Simancus, and also in Ellis, 2nd Series, III., 136. He was taken prisoner at Pasage, and eventually sent back to Madrid, where he was ordered to write an account of himself. This he did, and the English document was translated into Spanish for King Phillip by Sir Francis Englefield. The translation states that :

He, Arthur Dudley, is the reputed son of Robert Sotheron, once a servant of Mrs. Ashley, of Evesham, in Worcestershire. That he was differently educated to the rest of Sotheron's children, and that Sotheron, on his death bed, informed him of the secret of his birth, viz., that he was the son of Elizabeth by Leicester. The document goes into very minute details, which I have not thought worth while to transcribe. King Phillip granted him a pension, and treated him as a person of distinction.

The three letters which follow are transcribed from the originals preserved in the archives of the English College at Valladolid.

They contain nothing of importance so far as Sir Francis Englefield is concerned, but they throw considerable light on the sufferings which had to be endured by those priests who ventured on the English mission, and they give a very full account of the trial and death of the four Catholics (two priests and two laymen) executed at Oxford, July 5th, 1589.

Seth Foster, the writer of the first letter, was confessor of the nuns of Sion, who at that time were at Rouen. This community went from Rouen to Lisbon and there continued for about two hundred years; they are now at Chudleigh in Devon. The two religious whose journey he describes were March and Vivian.

David Kempe, the writer of the second letter, was a Douay priest, and the date of his ordination is given in the Douay diaries.

The fifteen persons referred to in his letter as executed were : W. Dean, W. Gunter, R. Morton, T. Alford, James Claxton, R. Leigh, and W. Way, priests; and H. Webley,

H. Moor, T. Felton, E. Shelley, R. Martin, R. Flower, Margaret Ward, and John Rock, lay persons.

Ans. 4, febr. 89.

Dated 1588—Dec^r. 4th.



JESUS MARIA.

In most humble maner I and o^r holl company salute y^r worshyp reight hartyly & dewtifully beyng all in as great cōforth as ever I knewe thys company for the safe and joyfull returne of o^r towe lost chyldren & brothers, nether we nor thay any thyng repentyng of what so ever ys past for in them what so ever thay have suffered yt hayth (o^r lord be thankyd most hylly tharefore) redoundyd to gode greater honor touching the cōstant pfessing of thare fayth, and as for thare p'servation upon the sea yt ys a playne demonstration of hys miraculus power who for the spaice of viij weeks sayling betwyxt Rotchell & England comittedy to most barbarus cruell men who dayling, threatennynge, and purposing to cast them over boord weare wth houlden not by any compassion mercy or any good will at all of thare kepers who cōtinually weare most raging & spitfully bent agaynst them, but only by god hym self who as yt weare violently stayed them. This holl viij weeks thay had no other foud or livyng save only beanes and water & yf at any tyme the beanes failed thay had a littill portion of browne bread to thayre water the other in the shyp w^{ch} had no charge of them seing thare allowance so bad and littill they cried to thare kep dayly ether geve them some meate or cast them into the sea lett us not se them dy thus lyk dogge amungst us sayng thay must needs wth that dyet fall into some cōtagius disease & so weare lyke to infecte the holl shyp whearfore rather cast them into the sea thay all thys tyme sittynge all thre fettered in irons every hower redy & lowkyng to dye thar jorney was thus long by reason of great wynds and cōtrarye tempest wheare of as thay said the pepysh [monks] was the cause & in the tyme of strome thay would wth faire speaches desyre them to pray for faire wether pmissing them meate the other refused not to pray but when a calme was comed then thay as cruell as before dyd not spare to abuse and threaten them beyng at the last arived in Devenshyer thay weare carryed to the Erle of Bathe to be examined who having in tymes past had acquaintance wth Brother Marshe thowgh then he would not acknowledge yt yet of hys servants thay had such enterteainment as tharby ther cruell kepers weare sumwhat couldl & o^r brethren delivered to others more civill & reasonable hys letter & examination of them w^{ch} he sent to the concell was nothyng at all agaynst them and as o^r brothers thynkt as favorable as he durst in such a matter to be bryef thay weare examined altogether as other Katholyks and prests weare thay pleading that thay weare banyshed c. all was to no purpose thay weare in the same danger of death as the other prests weare that weare executed thare answears beyng as plaine & absolute as any of them all, they had p'pared towe whyt cots to dy in & wth in

towe weeks of thys danger the Man w^{ch} I sent wth letters in thare behalf to the concell obteane thare delivery very happily thowrowe the great seute of the French Embassator & thowghe the letters dyd specefyl but them towe only yet in the seute such friendshyp was mayd that all thre weare delivered so that M^r Kempe also ys heare in Roan who hayth ben syke sence hys comyng but nowe ys recovered god be thankyd. thys one thyng I thought good to note unto yowre wth of the Spanysh navy w^{ch} ys the cōfession of the Englysh enymies that weare p̄nt at the first appearance of the armado to the englysh whose navy was then in Plimouth haven & not redy yet the Admirall p̄pared spedily a certayne number of shypes to stop the armado from entrance that way in to the straights, bot that p̄paration was at the fyrist frustratyd by the spanyeurs who cumyng on wth the wynd dyd wth no difficulty beat them to the banks, and forsed them to enter into haven & yf the spanysh armado havyng the wynd had then taken thare advantage of that porte & the navy thare the enemy I say cōfesseth that then all had ben tharse the spanysh navy beyng so myghty & the Englyshe beyng oute of that vantage w^{ch} they had when the Armado passed them for then the Englysh following them behynd had both the advantage of the wynd & the liberty of the seas wth thare lyght vessels w^{ch} was thare only safty, at the Passing of the armado through the straights all prests genteil men & others catholyks p̄soners weare all closly kepte very straitly so that they could not heare any thyng at all to or fro Layster yet levynge yt was agreed by the concell that all catholyks should be executyd after the w^{ch} cōclusion he parting frome the courte was dead before he could come to hys howse at Killingworth & at that tyme the execution was deferred the w^{ch} Hadden the Lord Chanceller obteane for 14 dayes who had maid a request to the Quene to that and yet afterward many weare sent to div'se places & thare executyd thare names heare I send yowre as also the names of all p̄eests & laye that have ben martyred this yeare 88 wth the names of those that have fayled o^r lord geve the other catholyks cōstancy and pseveren in theis most cruel tymes for the danger that thay remaine in ys mervilus great lastly o^r brothers & all o^r house do most deutifully salute y^r w^{wth} most humble thanks for all y^r bontifull goodnesse every way p̄formed towards the w^{ch} nowe thay being comed home we have recontyd mor p̄ticularly then we could understand yt before for the w^{ch} & infinite other yowre great favors & beniftys we all remaine bounde unto yⁱ wth for ever. my L o^r reverend mother comendeth hyr self most humbly unto y^r wth. thus beseching o^r lord allwayes p̄serve y^r wth. I take my leave thys 4 of December 1588.

Yowre w. ever most dewtifully,
SETH FFOSTER.

[Addressed] To the reight worshipfull

S^r FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, Knyght,
Madrid.

[Endorsed] Fr. SETH FOSTER 4 x^{bris} 1588.

Ans. Aprilis 89.

Dated Decr. 22 1588.



JESUS MARIA

Right worshipfull I thought it my Dewty (to whom I have bene soe
 miche bownd unto) to adv'tise you of my safe arrivall here in Roane the
 w^{ch} I never expected; But I referr all to the wonderfull goodnes of god
 after my deptur from you in Madride I Ridd in cart till I cam to Burgos
 where wee townd the scotishe priest Sir James whoe gave us as good
 int'taynment as he could, there hence I fotted it out unto Bilbow: where
 as sone as we arrived we herd of the deptur of twoo greate ships the
 w^{ch} were Bownd to the river of Nante of the w^{ch} passage we were very
 glade wthin 2 or 3 dayes went to Portigalletto where the ships were &
 wthin a day ther came a very pleasant wynde the w^{ch} we toke, the maister
 of the ship y^t we went in told us that the othere ship and his were
 sworne on to another of thē, But when we cam to the sea a dayes
 saylinge there arose a great tempest, & wee severed on from another
 soe that wee mette noe more & beinge one the seas about 8 dayes there
 came in our course a ship of Rochell at the first our shipe accounted
 nothinge of him, we sayled togethere a whole night: our ship might very
 well have gone from him she feared him nott notwithstandinge in the end
 we yeldid wthout any stroke of either ptie & to Rochell we were caried &
 there straytly examined we told the playnly of our journey this helped
 the matter little but wee were kept 3 weeks in prison there & beinge an
 Inglishe man there in prison as he sayd wrongefullly whose nam was
 Nicols he told me that he had bene here in Madrid as I remēber he sayd
 20 weeks together & told me m^r P'diaux was a besie foelowe Sir francis
 Inglefylde could not stor abrod this felowe procured the cariedg of us into
 Ingland of the Kynge of Navarr as we supposed he gave us the truth is
 delicate cheer when we were at sea for that he bare us good will & also
 for my lord Treasourours sake because he had willed him to bringe him
 a cupple of friers our Chere was sower Beans & stinckinge water wth the
 w^{ch} I thank god I never felt the colleck or any other sicknes & wthout
 any breaide 8 weeks together & truely sir it is somewhat lothsom to tell,
 10 Thowsand companions wth six legs I cannot tell you the whole storie
 because it will aske great tyme & also to lay down everie pticuler it wold
 ask Help indeade the Best Jorney that ever I made better then my
 pilgrimage would have bene all to our Ladies of Loretto we were landed
 in Devonshire by Bastable & caried before the leuetenant of Corwall &
 Devonshire & examined very hardly againe & then sent to london wth
 our examinations: (I should have told you y^t wee were 8 weeks going
 betwixt Rochell & Ingland) & imp'soned in the Marshalseys in sowthwork
 where we were close p'soners for moneth & then a fortnights liberty of
 the p'son then heringe of the spanishe Navi we were shote up Close
 againe & so continued till we came into france the 8 of Novenber we cam
 from London when the Navi was past away then they begane to deale
 wth p'soners to examen the to know what they would doe & many in-

terrogations they mad that at on tyme they executed 15 the on a womane for conveinge awaye of a priest y^t was in Bridwell p'soner the womans name was margaret w[o]rd or Warde I know not whither att another tyme 4: 3 priests & a layman at * Canterbury, also 3 priests more 2 executed at † Chichester & the other I know nott the place Robinson at Ipswich his name att annother 4: ‡ 2 priests & 2 § Laye men the priests executed for comminge into the Realim against the lawes of the Realme the laymen because the were Reconciled it was thought if leceter had lived y^t all these y^t would have denied to goe to Church should have bene hanged forthth there were also gentlewomen condemned to dye for receaving of priests [the] hir nam was m^{rs} Whiet at Westminster the other on m^{rs} Lowe dwelling by sowthworke as longe as the navi was against Ingland wee were very quiet but After that they pceved the Navi past they begane to Ransack the catholiques, we hard that leceter died wth a great Burning & smelld after he was ded that noe man might com nere him wee herd also when he was in the camp he had som overtwart there of on Sir John Smith in essex whoe was Coronell of all essex Certayne captaynes came out of flanders & leceter would they should have had som govermēt of soldiers & he sent to Sir J. Smith for som. S^r J. S. cam to him; him self being Coronel & told him & that he might spare none of his soldiers because they were gentlemē & farmers & tenants of they gentlemen that were under him & told my lord, that they were better gentlemē thē the Captaynes they should goe unto . moreover they were unknowē unto them & the p'mised there service unto him In hir maiesties Behalf & would live and dye wth S^r Jo. Smith Where at leceter should frone & S^r J. S. answered him playnly againe if he wold have any of his soldiers he should wind thē by the sworde S^r John Peter came in also and used words to the same effect and many other of great worship of the Countrie after wth speches Leceter left the, this I may be somewhat to longe in this matter Now for our delyvery out of Prison I knowe howe it was at our first Bringing up to London the frenc Ambassadour mad a motione for our deliveri it was not denied him nether granted I think there of Sion mad som other meane By the governoure of Roane who sent his prs to S^r Francis Walsingame for there delivery & they were forthwth delivered it pleaseth god wee should come hither againe because wee were not worthie of that Crowne of Mart: Sir for the singuler care you had of me whē I was wth you I cann doe nothing els for it but to praye to god to repaye it home agayne in Haeven thes wth my most humble Dewty remēbred unto the Duches hir grace also unto your self a Thowsand tymes most Hartly & also m^r Wentworth god reward him for his paynes he hath taken wth me & to

* R. Wilcox—Edward Campion—E. Buxton, priests ; and R. Widmerpool, layman.

† R. Crockett—E. James.

‡ Executed in London: W. Hartley—J. Weldon and R. Williams, priests : and R. Sutton, layman.

§ This is an error, there were three priests and one layman.

Edmū Driar this commēding unto allmighty god from Roane the 22 of December 1588.

Your David Kempe Pr:

[Addressed] To the Right worshipfull Sir francis Inglefield
geve these in Madrid.

Ans. 9 Decemb. ✠ 89.

Right wor: about the begynneinge of this instant, I answered yo^r of the 7 of August, acquainting yo^r wth such occurrents as y^e p^{sent} tyme dyd minister, and my self accounted worthy yo^r redinge, for the p^{sent} touchinge our ynglyshe p^{eed}ings, they have sent souccors of men & other things to Navarre as he required under y^e conduct of the L. Wyllybye, this ys sayd and cōfyrmed by bres from calis, whose advises be not alwayes of the surest. wth wyll fale furth accordinglye yf the newes bruted in the burse yesterday prove true, viz. y^t the Duke du mayne had taken Deepe and y^t sundrye ynglyshe shippes were sonke & taken there, of the cōfimation I earnestly harken before I daire avouch yt for true, of this hope & cōforth I am, and y^t by the late advises I receyved from or frends At roan, that yf the Duke have not as yet gayned the towne and putt Navarre to the foyle or flyght, y^t he wyll doe shortly, cōsidering besyd the goodnes of his cause, the meanes or media he hath viz. of 40000 men in the feild & upward to accomplishe his purpose as m^r shelton wryteth. meane season he gayneth of Navarre daylye sundry victories, geveing the overthrowe to him & his wen so ever he fyndeth them.

There came of late 4 ynglyshe catholiks to this cittey from yngland, Who report there crueltye to increase dayly, as appeared by an execution done about two monethes or more, upon two seminary preists & two lay men, Who apprehended in Oxford at the Kateryne wheele, being an ynne, were fyrt cōvēted before the Vice chancelar cōmissaries and other justices, did cofesse them selves to be catholyks all, and after some fewe dayes, were sent up to the p^{vy} counsell, Where Walsingam demaūdinge yf the weare preists, one of them called m^r George Nicols preist of y^e seminarye dyd cofesse y^t he was, ergo sayeth Wals: A traytor, cui Nicols. I never hard or redde y^t to be a preist, especially emonge chrystian people was to be termed A traytor, neyther were they so taken wth our forefathers, but had in all reverence, especially At Saint Austine fyrt preaching the faythe, whereto Wals: replied lyke him self as yo^r honor may Imagine. m^r Yaxleye the other was called, who sayd beinge demanded y^t he was A catholyke gentleman, the thyrd was one m^r Belson A knewen catholyke gent: y^e 4 Humphrey Prichard a Welshman was servant of y^e house where they were taken A sound catholyke. The preists were sent to brydwell where seorsim they were for the space of 15 howers hanged up by the wrestes of the hands, And after lett downe. Tyrrell and tyllyert [sic] Apostata preists, brought in to cōfront them, especially m^r yaxlie who they testifed to be A seminary preist, And D. Webbes camerado, he was here upon sent to the tower & threatened the racke, and m^r Nicols lett downe into A Deepe Dongeon full of Venemous

Vermyn where he remayned for A season ; And after one month they with the two others were sent downe to Oxford, where at an open assisse they were codemned by the verdyte of A purytane quest, pyked out of purpose, And after executed they all taking therē Death in most cōstant & courageous sort, not so much but y^e poore servant sayd, Testyfye wth me I pray yo^e, y^t I dyed catholyke to whom, when A ptestant replied, what ? thou knowest not what yt ys to be a catholyke, sayeth he What I can not say in word, I wyll seale wth my bloude. yt were to longe to recytle all there disputes wth the purytanes & other there godly sayeinges & examples, w^{ch} all I have wryten to his grace more at large. sence this execution they begynne to execute there wycked statute more stryctly & severelye.

Therle of essex carieth credyt only nowe in court Rauly packed A way as we heare as the poyet sayeth successore novo vincitur omnis amans.

Syr francis Knowles was one pryncipall psecutor of these good preists even to there Death where he was p'sent.

Not the dayes agoe an old servante sonne to therle of West: arryved heare, who reporteth much of the redy & prepared mynde of the North parts to the assistance of such as shall go about the reformation in religion, emonge other thinges he recounteth A strange wonder w^{ch} befell in those parts after the Armado was passed Viz. of the sound of drmmes hard by A towne of therles called Elwycke not farre from leere poole, soundinge styl, Alarme all arme, w^{ch} was so evident A thinge, that after the fyrst discouerye thousands came from farre, yea from London to hearken after yt, yea A poysoned ptestant supposing yt to be done by some sorcery, caused the ground there the sound was to be dygged the diggers entered so farre heareing styl the sound & could not overtake yt, that they were in fyne so fryghted y^t mounting out of there cave, wold never returne to assayle yt againe, this sound beganne upon the feast of purification or there about And ended about the feast of Annunciatio. Being at the spa the yeare y^e Armado was to come forward, an old ynglyshe preist told me then & there, before the fletee was sett out, y^t the game should begynne betwene John & James as yt dyd, and be faced to passe about the Ilands fayling of there purpose, but that the Aegle chycke should returne againe shortly after, and gaine the victory, by the help of the Dragon & bull, thus have I unfolld my bugget after my rude wonted manner nothing douting of yo^r honors frendly acceptation Wysheng to yo^r honor yo^r harts desyre I end wth my humble cōmēdations to yo^r self & the good father to whom I pray you impart what I wryte & tell him I longe to heare from him.

Antuerpe 19 of oc^{ber} 1589.

I suppose Syr W^m stanley wylbe wth you before these come to yo^r hands yf he be there p'sent my harty cōmēdations I besych yo^r honor to him.

[Addressed]

To the honorable knight

Syr FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD

A Madryd.

[Endorsed]

De martiribus & troubles of Syon, and
namely Syster ELZABETHE SANDERS.

In a document among the State Papers dated May 21, 1591* there is a statement by John Snowden (J. Cecil the informer), of the English Jesuits in Spain. He includes in his list Sir Francis Englefield, whom, he says, has 600 crowns a year and more if he demands it, and is entirely one with the Cardinal and parsons, &c.

Needless to say, Englefield, being a layman, could not have been a Jesuit. The inclusion of his name in this list of members of the Society shows that the belief then existed that every Catholic priest and any prominent and active Catholic layman must of necessity be a Jesuit.

In June and July 1593 I find two documents among the State Papers which seem to contradict each other. The first is a long letter from John Vincent to Sir Francis Englefield, in which he asks the prayers of Sir Francis for Queen Elizabeth and the state of England. The second purports to be the voluntary confession of Gilbert Laton, who charges Sir Francis Englefield and others with practising the Queen's destruction.

If Vincent, who was a friend of Sir Francis, and no doubt well aware of his feelings, could write in such a strain, it is not very likely that Laton's confession is truthful. It may be also noted that many so-called voluntary confessions were extorted by torture, and if this was of that nature, little reliance is to be placed on a statement made by a poor wretch to escape from his pains.

In the same year (1593) there are five letters among the MSS. preserved at Valladolid. They are written to Sir Francis Englefield by persons non-resident in England, and by those who would have been certain to refer to any plot against the English Queen if Sir Francis had been in any way connected with it.

Lengthy as these communications are, they are quite innocent of treason, and refer chiefly to ordinary gossip, or to the private affairs of the correspondents. It is true Wideslade sends to Sir Francis a package of suppressed books and makes him a present of a copy of one of them.

Stanhurst writes of the projected Irish rebellion in a way that would satisfy the most ardent Unionist of the present day,

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

and his allusion to the O'es and Mackes is somewhat amusing.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD: Valladolid Papers. June 1593.

JESUS.

Right Worshipfull, after my mooste humble hartie salutations, these are ones more to trouble you. I have written unto you before, for the deliverie of a letter to the Provincial of the Jesuits from their General in my behalfe which I hope you have receaved with myne. But now I ryght hastilie beseech you to receive from the bringer herof twentie Bookes which my Lord Cardinall Allayne gave unto me to bestow at my pleasure in Spayn they ar contra edictum reginæ anglie & because I had not sufficient to pay for the carriage of them I am to pray you to lay it out for me til I com & be able to repay you. The price is for 26 pounds wight to pay eyght rials for the carriage from Barcelona to Madrid & so after that rate yt it please you you may take one at your owne use & also (yf father Person & father Creswell be in Madrid) you may geve to eyther of them one. but I would gladly geve one to Don John de ya . . . & to Don Martin, myselfe nor would I they should have any knowledge of them before I came. Whiche shalbe as sone as I can. & so for this time I leave to trouble you & command you to God this 23th of june 1593. Barcelona

Yours to command

TRISTRAM WIDESLADE.

dorso.—

A Don Francesco Inglefilde ca
valero Inglese
nel collegio deles
Jesuitas l'ogliarn Madrid.

Mr. Wynslade 23 June ^{Mr. F.}
rec 31 July 1593. ^{in Sir E.'s hand}
Jayme Laguerda al mison de
los carros casa Dumbarnero.



Right worshipfull y^r of the 21th of this present I received yesternight verie late & glad I was to heer of yo^r good health: & bicaus I have now but little leisure by reason of my wyves churching this day I hope you will pdon me though I be so short.

according to you will me I shall repayre shortly to Scuriall godd willing. I a glad my brother hath written [so muche] unto you I hope he wil doo for me.

I canot tell what to make that o^r cedulas for lisbo be not yet firmid by the King as the officers tell us. they say wee shall have o^r sedulas & ordre for o^r müey together, w^{ch} godd grante.

M^r pickefort is god be thanked recoverid & was yesterday in the afternoone to visite us. I doubt not but he will leave ordre for the paymēt of suche müey as he oweth you.

yo^r commendacons to my coosin Whyte are doon & the linē also deliverid w^{ch} came from his brother. heer hath bin a chaling of late betwen Don pedro de toledo the marquese of Villa franca & the Condé of Melgare, &

the marquese went far out of towne to stay for the Condé, but the Justice heering of it preventid them both & so they be prison's in their owen houses, but whearaupon the chaling was I heer not as yett. heerafter you shall heer more of this matter. I thanke you hartely for the speciaff care you have of us : it seemith god will not now forsake us in this or distressed case

And thus in hast wth my wyves & my most hartie commendacons unto you I comit you to godd

At Madrid this 24 of July 1593

Yⁿ always to
command

WILLIA COFLEY.

m^r felton fell sicke on

Munday last of dooble tercians in w^{ch}

she remaynith still I knew not of it till last night : & this afternoone I shall se her god willing. all the cartes of Madrid be yester night sent to lisbo to bring the cardenals stiffe frō thence: so as the cardinalls comig hether wilbe shortly

M^r Orton hath deliverid to me 66 rials for father gibbons according to his own ordre of w^{ch} I acknowledged the receipt to father gibbons on saterday last & by his w^{ch} I recd on Wensday last he requestid me to desyre you to pay him the same thear & I to pay it heer to who you shall appoint. I doo now write to the father that he himself speake to you about this & that I have written to you therin & according as it shall please you to doo I a redy. o^r nurse is sicke of [stulles?] & great head ache. & so weake that she canot sustayne 2 chldrē so as wee must keepe marie frō the brest as muche as wee can though wee dare not yet weane her for the great heats heer & and the breding of teeth.

[Addressed]

To the right worshipfull

his verie good friend S^r

france Englefield

Valladolid.

[Endorsed]

m^r Copley 24 July

rec the 28.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD : Valladolid Papers. 2 Aug., 1593.

Right worshippfull & the very honor of our nation (in all these so great & extreeme persecutions) my most humble dewty remembred unto you wth most humble thanks for all yo^r charitable goodnes so bountifully bestowed upon mee w^h, though I bee utterly unable to recompense any waye; yet shall I during lyfe most hartely pray for your worship, and also will bee most willing & redy to doo you any my poore service to the uttermost adventure of my lyfe in anything it may please your worship to comaund, desiring Our Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin, & all the holy company of heaven; long to bless you & contyneue you heere amongst us for his service, & to your owne profite & Salvatione, & to our

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E

comfort & succour. Sir, I thought it my deuty by the fitnes of this oportunyty of the fathers coming to signifie unto your woorship how all things stand with mee at this present. I delivered your favorable letter unto Don John, the 25 of July being Sonday, and spake not with him till Saterday, the last of the same month, at w^h tyme I discoursed with him at large of the matter & hee asked mee of many particulars therof, and after half an houres speach hee willed me to come agayne on Monday, the second of this August, w^h is tomorrow which I now expect, thus not having anye good newes to write unto your woorship I end; resting for ever at your good comandment, & praying God to contynew in you the encrease of restored yeers in all happiness, & in the end to reward you with reward of the heavenly joyes.

Your woorships most bounden for ever &

most willing to serve you,

JOHN DOUGHTY.

In dorso: To the Right Worshipful S^r Francis Inglefield, Knight, give these at Valladelid.

Jn^o Doughty the 2 Aug., 93}
ed. the 4th } in S^r F. E. Englefield's handw.
1593.

SIR F. ENGLEFIELD: Valladolid Papers, Aug. 2, 1593.

RIGHT WURSHIPFUL.

Three of your wurship his letters came to my hands and as touching my discourse wrytten to my brother Copley: yt grew of a letter, which he wrote me wherein he dyd signifie that he was in doubt whether he would accept the king his offer or refuse yt! and hereof proceeded myne answer to hym. Now that the doubt which I dyd forcast is cleared and that my brother his meaning was not to refuse yt^t, but that yt^t should run on, as yr^r wurship hath discretly written, I moved the formour suit a fresh to Don parsons [Johan] no later than yesterday being the first of August. His answer was that he hath almost ended yt^t, and that he hath very great hoope to compasse yt^t shortley. Then I yeelded his senioria most humble thankes for having that care on my brothers suite; and thereupon I tooke occasion to tel hym, that of al others who are exiled out of theyr countreys his case is most cleere, that he departed his countrey & forsook as fayr a living as any owt of his countrey being no more than a gentleman (or of any other [P quoth] I, whom I know, except Don Francisco & a very few others) & all that dyd he forsake only for his conscience. I have understande so much [P quoth] he; & then he began to comed my sister in law & her good qualtyes, in very ample termes. She wrote me [P quoth] he, a latin letter when his majestie was in Aranjoas, so wel pend that yt^t might becom a doctour to wry^t it. Truely, [P I] I doe assure yr^r senioria that the letter was wholy of her owne enditing. Certenly [P] he, yt^t is a rare matter and I have the letter, and doe purpose to keepe yt^t stil. This was the effect of the communication

that past betwene his senioria and me of mye brother his affayres which dyd content me greatlye.

Touching myne owne affayres, I have not dewlt as yeet wylth his Maiestye, nor wylth any of his officers, and doe purpose to use silence until such tyme as I have accomplished such matters as are expected of me heere. H. A. xv. dayes his Maiestye dyd apoynt to visit my wurkes, but the psycions proceeding in theyre woonted malice, dyd diswade his Majesty, saying the walk was long from his chamber to the wurkhouse, & in the canicular (dog days) y^t might be dangerous for hym to enter in to these treates of the fyres and to smel to these strong waters. With sundry such bible bables: too tedious to be wrytten. But I would have y^r wurship understand how O^r Lord, of His sweete providence, turned theyre malice too my securitye; for y^t hapned a iiiij or five dayes after his Majestie had stooles which dyd somewhat distemper hym, and yf he had visited the wurkes as he was ones resolved to doe you may guess how many divisions the doctors would have made on this playnsong inputing his disease to his repaire thither. But God hath so wrought that his Maiestye is in health, and I doe rest blamelesse. I told this in secret to S^r Don Johan, and in truth he dyd agree to y^t, that y^t was God his especial providence, and he lyked wel of my resolutions, not to motion ought in mye particulare affayres until such tyme as the wurkes were accomplished.

Of Flanders wea heer no good newes: only the new goueno^r is exspectred there by the last of September.

Of France, I have seene a letter of a Spanish capitayn, wrytten to Don Johan, who the siege of Bloyas is rayzed; a 300 were slayne by the Spanyardes and certyn French who issued out of the castel, and but one slayne & iiiij wounded of^r part: the enymye heerewyth discouraged marched away, leaving theyr . . . and trenches emptye. Thus the Spanish capitayne wryteth who is theare and was one of theym who assaulted the enimye.

Touching M^r. Paget his dealing: I wil undertake to tel his tale to Don Johan before I be xv dayes elder: & wil decipher the hollow hert [heart], he & his companions have alwayes borne the Spanish partie. Y^r wurship hath doon discretly to passe the canicular [dog] dayes in Valid² (Valladolid). For al men complayn of the excessive heates of Madride. And thus wishing too y^r wurship at contentment I take my leave.

S. laurēce.

the second of August 1593

Y^r wurships assuryd to command

RECHARD STANYHURST.

In dorso. To the right wurshipful

Sy^r Frances Englefield

Knight

Valid⁴

M^r Stanhurst 2 Aug 93

rec the 4th Ans 11.

1593

} in Sir F. E's band.

Sir F. Englefield, Valladolid Papers.

Aug. 16, 1593.

RIGHT WURSHIPFUL

Upon my brother Copley his repaire thither (for whom I dyd send by reason the councle, his frend is heere) I receaved y^e wurship his letter of the xith of this present, & my resolution touching my brother his affayres, I take to be best, that first wee obteyne hym to be de la *casa*; and after, when I shall negotiat wyth his maestye for myne owne affayres, I wil *suffre* that demand of . . . to &c. as a motion of myne owne, in respect of the alliance between us.

And doubtlesse I take this to be the safest way.

I have harde the Frenche newes bruted in this place before I wrote y^e wurship my last letter, and yeet because it seemed to me wholy ridiculous I would not empart y^e y^e w. [worship]. But since I have seen a letter dated from Paris of the 12 of July wrytten by a Spanyard, who doth affirme y^t most constantly, & that upon the repaire of the king his armye which lyeth in the . . . frountyres the accord & election shal be published.

But from theese great men heere a man can neather ferret, nor fish ought only Don Jhoan & Don Cristopher have more secret meeting heere in the monastery; than they were woont to have, and are perusing letters & other papers O^r l. [Lord] knoweth, what they emport.

But now that I am fallen in these matters of state, I can not choose but advetise y^r wurship of a great ambassage sent to his manestye by no meaner personage, than an archebishop. You may see by these wonder that parturiunt montes: and the rest wil fal owt to be true.

Syr the matter is this, as I have been enfourmed a ij monthes past. The Irish primat hath labored wyth som of his Irish lordinges. I meane their oes and mackes: to accept of the king of Spayne to be their king: and the archebishop of Townmōud [Thomond] is sent for ambassad^r. Hee arrived in Madrid secretly the 15 of this moneth: and would not have me know thereof as yeet: as Dennys tellethee mee.

The matter of y^t self is so rediculous as I think myself bound in conscience, to forwarne his maiestye of the fickleness, weaknesse, of these people, being in deede wyth us of the English pole of noe reputation in the world. I purpose too draw out certayn poyntes of these affayres to Don Johan *Idiaques*, whereby his senioria may be armed before the archbishop his arrival: & when I have ended theym I wil present y^r wurship a copye. This you may impart to the father, and yf he wryte a few lynes to Don Johan touching the vanity of this message, I suppose it wil not be amisse: that his opinion and myne came too geather.

Touching the *entretenidos* in Flanders there is doubt lesse soom order taken for theym: but y^t wil not be published until the Archeduke Ernesto his repaire thither I suppose the *numbre* shal not be so great nor the pensions so large but the payment shal be better

Mr. Antoney Standon is gon for England: he wrote from Cales to certayn

of his frendes in Flanders, that he will continew a Catholick stil which o' Lord graunt. but I suppose he wil not be a Spaynish Catholik.

In my next conference wyth Don Johan Idiaques I wil not fayle to deale earnestly wyth his senioris for Mr Fitzherbert, & Mr Owen

Touching the seminary of Douay, & the . . . nts of sion I refer yr wurship too the FATHER . . . ter

Heere wee make no accompt of the comet, but remit y^r wholly too these petty kinges & Queens of the North partes, as Denmark England & Scotland. The King God be thanked is in health His maiesty went about the cloyster in procession on S. Laurence his day & on the assumption of O^r Ladye. His legges are very smal He useth a litle short sticke, & he doth not stoup at alle. I had the more leasure & better oportunity to survey his M, from top to tou: by reason that in both the processions wee were not past a xvij persons in the trayne

The Prince went wyth hym the first day in procession but the second tyme his alteza was absent being troubled wyth a cattar. but is of no moment And thus having no more to trouble y^r wurship wythal for this present I take my leave

S Lawrence the 16th of August 1593

Y^r wurshippes most

assured to command

RICHARD STANYHURST.

In dorso

To the right worshipful
Sy^r Frances Inglefeld
Knight &c Valid^d

Mr Stanhurst 16 August
rec the 23th 93
ans the 24 93

In the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. ser., for the year 1595, there is a list of answers given by Wright to certain questions which had been addressed to him. The following refer to Sir Francis Englefield :

9.—I know of no Englishmen attendant at the court (of Spain) except Father Creswell, Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Morgan, *Cecil the priest*,* and a few of small account.

10.—Creswell has no pension, Englefield 60 crowns a month well paid.

11.—As to Sir Francis Englefield's disposal of his time: he says that having one foot in the grave he must prepare for eternity; but yet two years since he set out a book on the pretenders to the Crown of England and who are likely to prevail.

* This Cecil was not a Jesuit, his real name was Snowdon; he was a spy in the pay of Cecil the minister. A letter from him to Secretary Cecil follows.

2.—He is not fully * blind. He depends most upon Don Juan Idiaques.
 13.—No Englishman besides Parsons have ability to deal in matters of policy except Sir Francis Englefield and Creswell.

Answer No. 11 refers no doubt to a book entitled "A Conference on the Next Succession to the Crown of England." This was first published about 1592. It was suppressed by Act of Parliament 35 Eliz. To keep a copy of it was high treason. The book was reprinted at Namur in 1681.

The evidence connecting Sir Francis Englefield with this book seems to be a letter from Parsons to a friend, dated May 24, 1604, and the statement by Wright in his answers above given.

It will be seen by reference to the letter dated 1593 that Wideslade sends Sir Francis a package of suppressed books, no doubt the book in question, and he tells him he may keep a copy for himself. If Sir Francis was joint author, one is disposed to think that he would not have depended on this chance gift for a specimen of his work.

A copy of this book is in the library of the British Museum, 292 f 21, and on the fly-leaf is written, "This piece was the production of Card. Allen, Inglefield, and others."

Whoever were the authors, there is certainly nothing in the book which to the nineteenth century mind seems to call for its suppression. It is just such an examination of facts concerning the succession as might appear in a magazine of the present day without comment.

The headings of the various books into which this proscribed work is divided are briefly as follows:

Book I. The next propinquity or ancestry of Bloud alone, though it were certainly known, yet it is not sufficient to be admitted to a Crown without other condition and circumstances requisite to be found also in the person pretendent.

Book II. Examineth the titles and pretensions of all such as may have claim or action to the Crown of England at this day and what may be said of them, and what against them. And in the end, though he leave the matter entirely doubtful, as touching the best right, yet he give certain conjectures about some persons that are likely to prevail.

* In the letter dated 1596 to Mr. Roger Baynes it will be noticed that Sir Francis states that for more than twenty-four years he has been unable to write or read.

The titles of pretenders are not so clear as when Elizabeth came to the throne. The authority of her Majesty (Elizabeth) is that which at this present overbareth all, when that shall fail, no man knoweth what the event will be, for that now no men's hearts are hardly discerned.

It goes on to argue that the

Protestants would favour Arabella Stuart, the Puritans James VI. of Scotland. The Roman Catholics "who they incline to is not known." That those likely to prevail are, if foreign, the Infanta; if domestic the second son of the Earl of Hartford or the issue of the Countess of Derby; for the children of the Countess Derby are nearer by one degree to Henry VII. than any other competitor whatsoever.

The son of the Earl of Hartford is young, and his religion not talked of, so each party might hope to draw him. Hartford's eldest son is not legitimate.

Whatever may be thought of this book, it seems hardly possible that Sir Francis Englefield could have taken any very active part in its production, for he had been blind, or nearly so, for some years before it appeared.

Sir Francis, in his letter to Baynes, given below, seems to have formed an opinion that some whom he had trusted, owing to his helpless condition, were unworthy of the confidence he had bestowed on them.

Cecil, whose letter to Secretary Cecil follows, was, probably, one of these, and therefore his communication must be taken with caution.

J. Cecil,* writing to Secretary Cecil,† says:

I brought with me certain letters of Father Parsons' and Sir Francis Englefield's own hand to show that there are irons in the fire for divers places, but especially for Ireland and Guernsey.

It would be highly interesting if these letters conveyed by Cecil could be found, as we should then have an opportunity of judging whether they were mere budgets of news written to some friend in England or of a more incriminating character.

They might very well have been quite as harmless as Stanhurst's communication to Sir Francis on similar subjects.

There is a reference made to Sir Francis Englefield in a letter from Dr. Gifford to Thomas Throckmorton (1595).‡ The

* This is Cecil the informer. See foot-note, *ante*.

† Cal. State Papers, Dom. series, Dec. 30, 1595.

‡ Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

subject spoken of is the choice of either Parsons, Cassano, or Cajetan for a Cardinal's hat, and Sir Francis seems to have had some voice in the matter, for Gifford writes: "Sir Francis Englefield causes all this broil by favouring first one, then the other."

The reference to the blindness of Sir Francis Englefield made by Wright in his answers is confirmed in a letter written by Sir Francis to Mr. Roger Baynes in the last year of his life, 1596. An extract is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO MR. ROGER BAYNES.

Madrid, 10th May 1596.

Archives of Westminster V., 172.

Beinge nowe more the(n) 24 yeares synce myselfe could write or reade, and having in that tyme treated with so many greate personages on matters important by the eies & pennes of such servantes as I trusted, you will hold me excused though I cannot but feale a little this dyffidene - of my servantes & distrust of my choise by him or you.

Earlier in this same year Sir Francis had addressed a letter to Mr. Thomas Hesketh (Jan. 27, 1596). The entire letter appears to be missing, but a lengthy extract from it is preserved among the archives of Westminster,* and is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO THOMAS HESKETH.

Spain, January 27, 1596.

A clause of a letter of Sir Francis Englefield to Mr. Thomas Hesketh of the 27 of January, 1596.

The rest of your letter, being in deffience of the wronge charge wher-with you had burthened me in your former letters, demandeth no greate replie, as well for that all I said thereof was upon the expresse wordes of your former letters to me, as also for that you acknowledge either not to remember them or to deeme them more worthie of blame then justification, which ys recompence enughe for my satisfaction. Yet this point I can & do avvere unto you, that I knowe, to whom the Busshop of Cassano wrote expressly, that your deer uncle tould him by his owne mouthe som monthe before he died, that he had no meaninge nor intention to goe to Flanders, insinuatinge withall that he writh yt to this ende that the King heare might be undeceaved of your uncles meaninge, & not to expecte at his handes that which your uncle meante not per-forme & this do I know who hath yt of the Busshopes owne writinge.

* Arch. West. v. 117.

In all such cases therfore wherof you do knowe somewhat & others may knowe more, your surest way shall be to averr & avowe only that which you knowe to be trewe, without accusinge or suspectinge others for saieing that which they knowe more than you did. And whether your self or any others of his Graces famely wer of oppinion that by his Graces tarienge in Rome he might become Pope, & whether yourself or they in that respecte did caste furth any plausible speaches to your uncle tending to perswade his abode theere or delaie of fulfilling the Kinges desire, thies pointes beinge better knowne to yourself then me, I will not accuse you resolutely of them; though I knowe some which love you full dearely, of whose mouthes miself have hearde that their owne eares have been witnesses of divers speaches to that sense uttered by yourself & by some more aboute his Grace also in familiere conferences amone yourselves.

The following undated letter from the Duchess Feria (*née* Jane Dormer) is without doubt out of its proper sequence, but as it contains little beyond domestic news it has been inserted here.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD. Valladolid Letters.

Good Sir Fran^{ces} yster night your servant yillym delivered me your letter wryghtten upon the last Wedensday—w^{ch} I thank you hertyly for & for that you sent to all w^{ch} was from mi lord cardnal from hom I have fresher newes than this brings yet most welcom to me. I pray you comend me hartyly to good father Persons who I know likith no bysnes to occupi him God geve him heith that he mai be the better able to trauel in so many matters of importance as he hath of his charge. When he hath any occasion to wrygthe to me I know he will fynd time for it, how occupied so ever he be.

Mi cossen Margrett Harington hath her lyttel daughter syke wth a falle so great & perelous as her hed hath been openedt & she out of her wyttes al thes dayes w greve. The phisians & sergens sayes it is now out of perel so dere cost childerns. When she is come to herselfe she shal se that you wryght and ansure to it. She dose not know that her father is ded for that I dyd never tel it her. Nor yet of the token he sent her by Don Bernaldino de Mendosa w^{ch} was never delivered and so havyng no more matter to detene you ani longer I comitt you good Ser Fran^{ces} to our Lord Jesus. from Madrid 24 of July

Your loyng frenf

The duches

of FERIA

I heare say faither

Creswell is no better fried in siuil [Seville] than we be here since the caniculars [dog days] came in.

In dorso

Al senna Ser fran^{ces} Yng.

The duches 24 July } in Sir F E hand.
rec the 28.

It remains but to tell the unjust means by which Elizabeth secured the vast estates of Sir Francis Englefield and alienated them from the family for ever. Upon leaving England Sir Francis made a settlement of his property in favour of his brother John with remainder to John's heirs.

According to the law, forfeiture for treason did not affect the right of succession to the heir.

In 1562 (June 29th) John, who had married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth, had born to him a son, who was baptized at Englefield on July 14, 1562, and named after his uncle, Francis. John Englefield died on April 1, 1567, and was buried at Englefield on April 10 of the same year.

In 1564 Sir Francis Englefield was indicted for treason and outlawed, and the Queen sequestered the revenues of his estates.

The letters written by Sir Francis to the Queen, to Cecil, and to the Privy Council about this period, and the appeals made by the King of Spain on his behalf, show the efforts he made to obtain at least a portion of his income.

The flat refusals he met with, coupled with threats of more extreme measures to follow, no doubt made him desirous of adopting means that would firmly secure to his descendants a right to the property.

Therefore, shortly after the death of his brother John, he conveyed his estates to his nephew Francis absolutely, and without power of revoking, save by the tender of a certain ring.

This cleverly devised arrangement, in which no doubt the celebrated lawyer Plowden, a great friend of the Englefields, had some share, for a time baffled the Queen's advisers, but they eventually contrived a means to alienate the property from the nephew and his heirs. In 1586 Sir Francis was attainted and convicted of treason by Parliament, and his estates declared forfeited to the Crown. (Stat. of Realm and Cecil papers, 141, 154).

It was urged that the settlement effected by Sir Francis of his estates precluded them from forfeiture, and the matter came before the Queen's judges, who, after much deliberation, advised her Majesty to tender to Francis Englefield (the

nephew) a ring, and thereupon take possession of the property.

The ring was tendered to young Englefield ; the Queen took possession, and forthwith proceeded to bestow the estates at her will.

The legality of the proceeding was again called in question, and Englefield the younger appealed against the decision. Therefore, to make her position doubly sure, Elizabeth procured the passing of an Act of Parliament confirming the attainder and her title to the Englefield estates.

In brief outline the Act is as follows :

Act of Parl. 35 Eliz. c. 4 & 5.

(Stat. of R. Vol. iv. Pt. 2, pp. 849).

An Act for Confirming the Queen's Title to the Lands of
Sir Francis Englefield.

Whereas Sir Francis Englefield K^t the Queens Majestys natural born subject departed this realm in the first year of her Majestys reign with licence of her Majesty ; but after several licences had expired did remain beyond the seas in contempt of the Queens Majesty and the laws and statutes of this realm and the Queens command under the Privy Seal to return.

* * * * *

And where he so being beyond the seas bearing a traiterous *Harte* to her Majesty, and this her realm and knowing his person to be safe from the reach of due punishment, being in the dominion of the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome and having always since his first going over the seas a full purpose to enter into some treasonable action thought the same to provide for the safety of his manors, lands, &c. &c.

* * * * *

It then goes on to recite that Sir Francis had settled his estates on his nephew Francis, son of his brother John, for ever, unless at a future time he (Sir Francis) should present to the nephew a gold ring.

It further states that Sir Francis Englefield was * "the chiefeſt mover and ſetter on of the late Spanish invasion."

* * * * *

the ſaid Francis Englefield the nephew in the term of St Michael 29th & 30th Elizabeth viz the 20th Novr did come in proper person into Her

* For a contradiction of this see *ante*.

Majestys Court of Exchequer & there in open Court exhibited a writing being as he alleged the effect of a certain grant, conveyance or assurance made by the said Sir Francis Englefield after the begining of Her Majestys reign of certain manors, lands, hereditaments &c &c He took oath that he had not the writing but that it was made by Sir Francis E— before he was attainted & before the statute of 13th of the Queens Majesty against fugitives beyond the seas. That it was made on the conclusion of a marriage between his (Sir Francis) brother John & Margaret Fyton to Johns heirs male unless Sir Francis had issue male himself in which case the settlement was to have no effect That the said Francis omitted the condition of the tender by which it could be otherwise voided

* * * * * * * * *
Therefore the Queen directed her high Commissioners under the great seal viz Richard Broughton & Henry Bourghchier Esquires to deliver for Her Majesty a ring of gold to Francis Englefield the nephew, to frustrate the limitation &c &c made by Sir Francis E.

* * * * * * * * *
They made the tender and the fact is duly enrolled in the Court of Exchequer &c &c This act hereby confirms all attainders against Sir Francis Englefield the Queen is hereby entitled to take possession &c &c

Sir Francis Englefield died at Valladolid, in November, 1596, and he is buried in the church of the English College in that city.

That Sir Francis, by the accident of his position, was in correspondence and communication with those who were deemed enemies to Queen Elizabeth is a fact, but I think his letters clearly prove that although he may have had knowledge, he had little connection, if any, with the numerous plots of the period, and his character may well be summed up in the words of Dodd, who, in his "Church History," vol. i. p. 529, fol. ed., says of him :

His inclination to do good to all his countrymen, and the interest he had at the court of Spain, made the loss inexpressible when his death happened, which was at Valladolid, where he was soliciting charity for those in distress.

ALFRED ALLEN HARRISON.

ART. IV.—PAPAL ELECTIONS AND CORONATIONS.

Le Conclave, Origines, Histoire, Organisation, Législation Ancienne et Moderne, avec un Appendice contenant le texte des Bulles Secrètes de Pie IX. Par LUCIUS LECTOR. Paris : Lethielleux. 1894. Pp. xi., 784.

THE whole subject of the election of bishops is an extremely instructive one, and the customs which have prevailed at different times have more than an antiquarian interest. The Church requires that the transmission of the episcopal authority should be effected in a manner fixed by itself; but the mode is a matter of discipline and, in many of its details, has been changed from time to time. In this respect the election of a pope does not differ from that of other bishops; and it is important not to lose sight of the facts that the election of a pope is the election of a bishop of the diocese of Rome, and that the election is still made by those who are either bishops of the Roman province, or, technically at least, dignitaries of the local Roman Church.

The first three successors of St. Peter are believed to have been named by the apostle himself; and some canonists have maintained that any pope may nominate his successor.* Nothing very exact is known of the procedure during the ages of persecution; but towards their close, if not earlier, the election of a pope seems to have been a prerogative of the bishops of the neighbouring sees, the clergy and laity of Rome taking part in it as witnesses to the fitness of the candidate. At a council held in Rome in 499, the laity were deprived of all part in the election, which it was decreed should be made by the clergy, a simple majority of their votes being sufficient. A few years later another condition was exacted by the Emperor Justinian, who required that the result of the election should be submitted to the imperial

* See "Traité de Droit Canonique," par Mgr. Tilloy. Vol. i., pp. 202, 203. Paris : 1895.

approval; that the new pope should not be consecrated till this had been given; and that a sum equal to about £12,000 of our money should be paid for such approval. This imperial approbation was not however always sought, and the last pope who submitted his election to the Byzantine court was Gregory III. in 731. But a similar claim was put forward later on by the German emperors.

To fully understand this latter claim we must have a clear idea of the relation which existed between the pope and the emperor. In the middle ages it was customary for churches and monasteries to select some sovereign or great noble as their protector, *advocatus, avoué*; who, in return for certain privileges, undertook to defend the chapter or monastery against all aggressors. Such, for example, was the relation which existed between the dukes of Lorraine and the abbey of Remiremont. In the same way St. Leo III. chose Charles the Great to be the protector of the Roman see. Charles was already king of France by right of election, and king of Italy by conquest, when he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope in St. Peter's. His coronation did not carry with it any extension of political right; it merely gave him an honorary precedence amongst Christian princes, whilst it imposed the duty of defending the head of the Christian Church.* It cannot be a matter for surprise that a connection of this personal character should have led the imperial protector to concern himself with the election of him whom he was bound to defend, just as the protectors of monasteries often intermeddled with the concerns of those monasteries, not infrequently with disastrous results to themselves. Charles the Great himself abstained from all interference, as did his successor Lewis the Pious. But Lothair, the third of the Carolingian emperors, whilst acknowledging that the election concerned the Romans only, claimed the right to exercise a certain diplomatic control. This was the thin end of the wedge. This diplomatic control was not sufficient for succeed-

* "Lucius Lector" calls attention to a mosaic erected in the Lateran palace by St. Leo III. It is in two parts. On one side, *Christ* gives the keys to St. Peter and the standard of political sovereignty to Constantine, showing the divine origin of the two powers, each sovereign in its own sphere; on the other, *St. Peter* confers his pallium on his successor Leo, and confides the banner of the new protectorate to Charles.

ing emperors, whose interference led to such strife and confusion that, by the middle of the eleventh century, when Bruno of Alsace, bishop of Toul, was elected pope, the position had become intolerable.

Bruno, afterwards known as St. Leo IX., was proposed to the delegates of the Roman clergy by the Emperor Henry III. at Worms, and was accepted by them; but he would not consider the election final till it had been ratified, in Rome, by the Roman clergy. Himself a Benedictine, as he passed through Burgundy on his way to Rome, he stayed at the great Benedictine abbey of Cluny and there made the acquaintance of a young Italian monk with whom he was so charmed that he attached him to his suite and took him to Rome. This was Hildebrand, who, as archdeacon of Rome—the last, by the way, who held that office—was to be the instrument of the much desired reform of the procedure of papal elections.

The great aim of these two monks, pope and archdeacon, was to confine the election of the Roman pontiff to the dignitaries of the Roman clergy, the cardinals of the Roman Church. But this was not to be accomplished by St. Leo IX., nor by his successors Victor II. and Stephen IX.; it was reserved for the Burgundian pope, Nicholas II., who was elected at Siena in 1059, seven years before the Norman conquest of England. In the first year of his pontificate Nicholas promulgated a bull regulating future elections. He once more gave the right of electing the pope to the neighbouring bishops and again associated the people, in some degree, with the election; decreeing that whilst the electors were to be the bishops of the suburbican sees, the other cardinals were to give their adhesion and the people their consent to the choice made by them; unless for any reason the election could not be held in Rome, in which case the bishops were only required to associate with themselves a small number of the clergy and laity. He did not interfere with the imperial right of confirmation, but rendered nugatory any attempt at interference on the part of the emperor (whose dignity he reminded the world was personal and the gift of the Holy See), by the provision that if by any circumstances whatsoever the enthronisation should be prevented or delayed still the full pontifical authority might be exercised. In 1073 Hildebrand was him-

self elected pope and took the name of Gregory VII. He notified his accession to the emperor, who first of all approved it, and then withdrew his approval to enter on that long struggle which led him to Canossa. The work of Nicholas II. and St. Gregory VII. was completed by the Cistercian pope Alexander III. at the third council of Lateran in 1180. He admitted all the cardinals to the election, and made it necessary that there should be a majority of two thirds of those present—a rule which has been maintained to the present day. No mention was made in the decrees of any approval of the inferior clergy or people, or of the imperial confirmation. So from that time forward the election has been the work of the cardinals only ; and, subject to what is known as the right of veto on the part of three of the catholic powers, their choice has been free.

The veto, just mentioned, consists in a public notification to the Sacred College, by one of its members acting on behalf of the vetoing power, that some cardinal, whose election seems to be probable, is obnoxious to his government. This acts as a prohibition to that cardinal's election. The power of vetoing, the right to which has never been formally acknowledged, and so rests solely on custom, may be exercised by France, Austria, and Spain—by each power once, and once only, in the same conclave. It has been claimed by, but never allowed to, Portugal, and some wild writers have maintained that any government may exercise it of right. The author of *Le Conclave* writes of it as follows :

The writers of the traditional Roman school refuse to recognise that any government has a right, properly so-called, to exercise a veto. But they admit that it is a practice which was introduced reasonably and has been exercised lawfully. If they contest the right they do not reject what they call a *pacifica avvertenza* of a sovereign who is friendly to the Church, a remonstrance made with the object of maintaining peace and a good understanding between the Holy See and the great catholic states. It is understood that in principle the cardinal-electors remain judges of the value of the remonstrance, and that they remain free to yield to it or to ignore it ; but it is recognised that in practice they may be bound in prudence and in conscience to pay attention to it. They have to elect the one who is most worthy and most suitable to govern the Church, but however worthy, if he is the cause of animosity, if he is unfavourably regarded by one or more of the catholic powers, he will be

less suitable to take the helm of the Church. In short, though the cardinals are not bound in justice they may be bound in prudence to pay regard to a veto. And prudence is a cardinal virtue held in high esteem in Rome.

The veto has been exercised on two occasions within the present century—once in 1823, when Cardinal Severoli, who was a *persona ingrata* to Metternich, was vetoed by Austria ; * and again in 1831 when Cardinal Giustiniani was vetoed by Spain. It would have been exercised again in 1846 by Austria, who wished to exclude Cardinal Mastai; but the envoy only reached Rome in time to find the object of his veto ruling the Church as Pius IX.

Though a powerful weapon, the veto does not always produce the effect desired by those who make use of it. In fact, its ordinary result is to place the election in the hands of the rejected cardinal. This happened on both of the occasions in which the veto has been exercised in the present century. In 1823, after Cardinal Albani had pronounced, on behalf of Austria, the veto against Cardinal Severoli, the supporters of the rejected *papabile* asked him to name the cardinal to whom they should give their votes. He named the Cardinal della Genga who, Austria being unable to exercise the veto again, was duly elected. So in 1831 supporters of Cardinal Giustiniani, who had been vetoed by Spain, by his advice transferred their votes to the Camaldoles monk, Cardinal Capellari, and secured his election. The knowledge of this danger naturally makes these three powers more disposed to confine themselves to those means of influencing the conclave which they share with the others.

Subject to this power of veto, which at most can only be exercised thrice in each conclave, the election of a pope is the

* Cardinal Albani was the ambassador extraordinary of his apostolic majesty to the Sacred College. According to Halleck, quoting from Bianchi, "Storia della Dipl. Europ. in Ital." the form made use of was as follows : "In my capacity of ambassador extraordinary to the Sacred College, assembled in conclave, which capacity has been signified to and known by your eminences as much by means of the letter which has been addressed to you by his imperial majesty, as by the notification which to your eminences has been made by his imperial ambassador, and by virtue of the instructions which have been given to me, I fulfil the displeasing duty of declaring that the imperial court of Vienna cannot accept for supreme pontiff his eminence Cardinal Severoli, and gives to him a formal exclusion (‘*scelusiva*’) (“Int. Law,” vol. i., p. 104).

work of the cardinals alone, and of them a word must now be said. The college of cardinals represents the ancient *presbyterium*, or council, by which the bishop of Rome, as every other bishop, was assisted. The priests and deacons who formed this council were originally attached to one church, but eventually the priests were placed at the head of the various parish churches, and the deacons charged with the administration of hospitals and their dependent oratories. These priests and deacons were known as cardinal-priests and cardinal-deacons respectively. In the ninth century the seven suburbican bishops were associated with these cardinals in the administration of the Roman see, and were styled cardinal-bishops.* They not only took their part in administrative matters, but also in the public worship of the Lateran basilica, the cathedral of Rome, each bishop in turn being required to sing the Sunday mass therein ; just as the cardinal-priests took their turn in singing the mass in the four patriarchal basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Mary Major, and St. Laurence. The title cardinal was not exclusively reserved for the dignitaries of the Roman church till the time of Pius IV. ; formerly it was frequently bestowed on the canons, or some of the canons, of certain great churches, such as the cathedrals of Milan, Ravenna, Besançon, Compostella, and Cologne.

As at present constituted the Sacred College consists of the cardinal-bishops of the suburbican sees, whose number has been reduced to six, of fifty cardinal-priests, and of fourteen cardinal-deacons ; making in all seventy. The title of cardinal-priest or cardinal-deacon does not imply that the bearer of it is only a priest or a deacon. On the contrary, most of the cardinal priests are bishops, and the majority of the cardinal-deacons are priests. Nor, on the other hand, does it necessarily imply that they are in sacred orders, though now every cardinal must, unless specially dispensed, receive at least deacon's orders within a year of his creation ; but till comparatively recent times there was no such obligation, and a cardinal might remain all his life a simple tonsured clerk, or even resign the purple to enter on some unecclesiastical occupation and maybe marry. The members of the

* Tilloy, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 300, 301.

Sacred College rank immediately after the pope and before all bishops, even patriarchs.* They enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by bishops, other than those who depend on ordination or consecration. An attempt on their life is considered in canon law as high treason ; whilst to convict a cardinal of a crime in an ecclesiastical court, seventy-two witnesses are required if he belong to the order of bishops, sixty-four if he be a cardinal-priest, and twenty-seven if he be a deacon. The head of the college is the bishop of Ostia, who was formerly known as its prior, but is now styled the dean ; he has the right of consecrating the new pope if need be, and, like a few other bishops, enjoys the privilege of wearing the pallium. The cardinal-bishop next in seniority is the sub-dean. The other officials are the camerlengo, who acts as bursar, and who is appointed for a year, each cardinal taking the office in turn ; the secretary ; the clerk who represents the secretary when the latter is absent ; and the computist. The cardinals form the council of the pope, and during an interregnum have considerable powers of administration, but of administration only. During the interregnum, to make the government easier an executive council is formed, consisting of the camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, who is a different official from the camerlengo of the Sacred College just mentioned,† and the three "chiefs of orders." From the death of the pope till the third day of the conclave inclusive the chiefs are the dean, the first cardinal-priest, and the first cardinal-deacon ; for the next three days the next in rank of each order ; and so on to the end.

Immediately after the death of a pope all the cardinals residing out of Rome are advised of the fact and summoned to take part in the election of his successor. Gregory X. ordered that the election should be proceeded with on the tenth day after the death, and this has been the rule for the last six hundred years. But, in view of the present position of the Holy See, Pius IX. authorized the Sacred College to

* Not only cardinals but the princes-assistant at the throne and the grand master of the order of Malta rank before patriarchs ; and till some thirty years ago prothonotaries ranked before bishops.

† The camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church is named for life. He presides over the court known as the Apostolic Chamber, and it is his duty to verify the death of the pope.

proceed with the election without waiting for the lapse of the *norem diali*, so soon as an absolute majority of its members should be assembled in Rome, though he still required that there should be a two-thirds majority of those present. He authorized the cardinals to hold the election out of Rome if it seemed good to them, and ordered that if it were held in Rome it should be suspended at the slightest show of interference on the part of the Italian Government. He also empowered the Sacred College, if it should seem good to them, to dispense with the laws of enclosure, of which more will be said directly. These decrees were to hold good for the election which should follow his death, and for the succeeding one unless his successor should otherwise order. As the present pontiff took a leading part, as camerlengo, in drawing them up it may fairly be presumed that they will hold good for the next conclave.

Mention has just been made of the enclosure which gives to a papal election its name of conclave, and which has been the rule since the end of the thirteenth century. On the death of Clement IV., the cardinals met at Viterbo to elect his successor. For two years and a half the proceedings dragged on, and still no pope was elected; it was even rumoured that the cardinals intended to disperse without making an election. The people of Viterbo took the matter into their own hands and imprisoned the cardinals in the bishop's palace, committing them to the custody of the Savelli family; whose descendant, Prince Chigi, still has the privilege, as marshal of the conclave, of taking charge of the cardinals during a papal election. But imprisonment did not produce the required effect, so the good Viterbesi proceeded to remove the roof from the palace and to deprive their eminences of all food but bread and water. Thereupon the cardinals deputed a small number of their body to make the choice, pledging themselves to abide by the result, and in this way this protracted election was brought to a close. Gregory X., the new pope, to prevent similar scandals from occurring in the future, made a number of stringent regulations, and among the rest one which prescribed that during the whole time of the election the cardinals should be strictly enclosed.

The conclaves have for the most part been in the Vatican.

During the present century, however, four have been held in the Quirinal. In 1878 the former was of necessity again the scene of the election ; and in what follows it will be assumed that the conclave is in the Vatican.

During the nine days which follow the death of the pope the Vatican is prepared for the conclave, a sufficient number of apartments being prepared for the cardinals, their attendants, the officials, and the necessary domestics and artisans. The whole is so arranged that there can be no exit except by one door, which is fastened by four locks ; two on the inside, whose keys are kept by the camerlengo, and two on the outside, whose keys are in the custody of the marshal. Food and correspondence enter by four turns, similar to those in convents, which are guarded by various dignitaries ; one by bishops, one by protonotaries, one by prelates of the Apostolic Chamber, and the fourth by prelates of the Segnatura, another papal tribunal. All correspondence which passes the turn either from within or without must be read by the guardians, unless the cardinal concerned should prefer its passing through the hands of the secretary of the conclave, who has a private turn for official correspondence, in which case it is read by the chiefs of orders—by whom, and in any case, correspondence may be submitted to the whole college. Books and newspapers are allowed to enter. And a cardinal may communicate verbally with his servant at a turn, but only in presence of its guardians. The number of persons enclosed is considerable ; in 1878 it amounted to nearly two hundred and fifty. There were the cardinals, each one attended by a chaplain and a domestic ; the sacristan, with his five assistants ; the secretary of the conclave and his two assistants ; the prefect and five masters of ceremonies ; two doctors and a dispenser ; barbers ; masons, carpenters, and plumbers ; cooks, scullions, and other domestics. The camerlengo and the chiefs of orders are responsible for the order of the community, whilst its spiritual needs are looked to by the sub-sacristan.

Every cardinal in Rome, who has a vote, is bound to take part in the election ; and every cardinal in deacon's orders has a vote, even if he be excommunicated or under an interdict. Cardinals who have been proclaimed, but have not received the hat, may vote, but not so those who have been reserved in

petto. A cardinal may be deprived of his right to vote, and this has occasionally been done, as when Pius VI. deprived the Cardinal de Rohan of his vote on account of his complicity in the affair of the diamond necklace. It may happen that a cardinal has not received deacon's orders. If this should be the case he still has the right to enter the conclave; but, unless he has received a personal indult authorizing him to do so, he may take no part in the proceedings; though it is always open to him to be ordained in the conclave itself by the cardinal-vicar.* Should a cardinal arrive in Rome after the entry into the conclave he has the right to be admitted and to take part in the proceedings. He signifies his wish to that effect, and a suitable time is arranged for his reception, at which the camerlengo and marshal open the door and the newcomer is received by all his colleagues, and at once taken to the chapel to have the ordinary oath administered to him. But should a cardinal, for any reason, leave the conclave, even on account of illness, he cannot be re-admitted. It is now time to pass on to the election itself.

On the day fixed for entering the conclave mass of the Holy Ghost is sung in St. Peter's by the cardinal-dean, and then a sermon is preached by some high prelate, who exhorts the cardinals to elect him who they think most apt for the government of the church, putting on one side all private likes and dislikes. Later in the day the cardinals enter the conclave in solemn procession. The *Veni Creator* is sung, and then, after the prescribed prayers have been said, the apostolic constitutions are read, and the oath is administered to the cardinals, the major domo, and the marshal of the conclave, each swearing individually that he will observe them. Their eminences then go to their cells, which are numbered and drawn by lot, and the oath that they will reveal nothing nor intermeddle in the election is administered to all the other conclavists, clerical and lay. When this is over all who have no part in the election are turned out and the door locked by the camerlengo and the

* The cardinal-vicar represents the pope in the government of the diocese of Rome. He convokes synods, approves confessors, examines candidates for ordination, and has the sole right of ordaining such candidates even when they are orientals. No other bishop may confer orders in Rome without his consent.

marshal, who is charged with the maintenance of order on the outside. A tour of inspection is then made by the camerlengo and three cardinals appointed for that duty to see that everything has been done in accordance with law.

In 1878, on account of the Italian occupation of Rome, the opening mass was sung in the Pauline chapel instead of in St. Peter's; and the customary procession was dispensed with, the cardinals quietly entering the conclave and taking possession of their cells in the course of the afternoon.

During the continuance of the conclave the official day is ordered somewhat as follows. It begins with the community mass. On the first day this is said by the dean and all the cardinals communicate at it, on the other days it is said by the sacristan, an Augustinian bishop, but the cardinals need not communicate, being allowed to say mass in their cells. After the mass they go to the hall of election for the morning scrutiny. This is followed by dinner, which is served separately to each cardinal and his chaplain in his cell; siesta; exercise in the corridors and visits. The afternoon scrutiny begins, according to the season, at three or at four o'clock. When it is over the executive council, the camerlengo and chiefs of orders that is, discuss current business with the secretary, and, if occasion for doing so should arise, summon a meeting of the cardinals. After supper three strokes of a bell and the warning *In cellam domini* give notice to retire, though there is no prohibition against making visits to other cells. The hall of election is the Sistine chapel. Over each cardinal's stall is a movable canopy, symbolic of his temporary joint-sovereignty, and before it a table; whilst in the middle of the choir are some other tables furnished with writing materials for the use of such cardinals as may be afraid of being overlocked by their neighbours whilst they are preparing their papers. In front of the altar, on which are the cross and six lighted candles, is a table for the scrutineers. Each cardinal, as he goes to the chapel for a scrutiny, is accompanied by his chaplain, bearing his writing materials, but so soon as the sacristan has said the accustomed prayers all save the eminent electors are ordered out by the prefect of ceremonies.

The first business each day is to draw by lot the names of three cardinals to act as scrutineers, and of three others to act

as infirmarians, that is to take the votes of such cardinals as may be confined to their cells by sickness. It will be convenient to describe at once how this is done. So soon as the infirmarians have themselves voted, they take a box which has been prepared for the votes of sick cardinals, open it before all present to show that it is empty, lock it, and place the key on the altar. They then proceed to the cell, administer the ordinary oath to the cardinal and receive his voting paper, which he himself places in the box through a narrow slit in the top. If he should be too unwell to write he may select anyone he likes to fill in the paper for him, but before doing so the person so chosen must take an oath of secrecy before the infirmarians. On their return to the hall the three cardinals give the box to the scrutators, who open it, count the papers, and then place them one by one in the chalice with those of the other cardinals.

When the scrutators and infirmarians have been appointed the cardinals proceed to the election. They are absolutely unfettered in their choice—anyone may be chosen, ecclesiastic or layman. But no one outside the Sacred College has been elected for five hundred years, though so recently as the middle of the last century votes were given for one who was not a cardinal: this was in 1740, when some wished to elect Father Barberini, an ex-general of the capuchins. There are three modes of election. The first is that of *inspiration, acclamation, or adoration*. The cardinals leave their stalls and do homage to one of their body, who, if he be willing, thus becomes pope without more ado. The essence of this form of election is it unanimity; all must be agreed. There has been no instance of it for nearly three hundred years. The second mode is by *compromise*, which means that a certain number of cardinals are deputed to elect in the name of all, the rest pledging themselves to abide by their choice. This has proved useful in bringing a protracted election to an end. The third and usual mode is by *scrutiny* or ballot. This is subject to the following rules:—(1) Every cardinal present in the conclave must vote under pain of excommunication; (2) No one may vote for himself; (3) For an election to be made there must be a majority of two-thirds of the voters; and (4) The voting must be secret and by means of voting-papers of a

special form. These papers are divided into three compartments:—In the lowest the elector writes a motto and a number; in the uppermost his own name; and in the middle the name of him for whom he votes. The writing may be disguised. The upper and lower compartments are each folded and sealed with a fancy seal so that the scrutineers only see the middle section. The outsides of the upper and lower sections are covered with fancy printing to make it doubly sure that the writing inside shall not be visible, whilst to provide against mistakes being made when one of the seals may have to be broken they also bear the words *Nomen* and *Signa* respectively. The paper is again folded so as to hide the name written in the middle. Any deviation from the prescribed mode of folding and sealing invalidates the vote; but mistakes, incredible as it may seem, do frequently occur.*

So soon as the preliminaries are at an end the voting begins. The first to record his vote is the dean; then follow the infirmarians to free them for their duty; then the others in order of seniority. Each in turn goes to the altar and kneels for a short space. Then rising he holds his voting-paper over the chalice which is on the altar, and in a loud voice takes an oath that he is voting for him whom he believes to be the most suitable candidate, and that if there should be a second ballot he will do the same; after this he places the paper on the paten, from which he makes it glide into the chalice. If any one present is unable to vote, the third scrutineer goes to his stall, and, after the cardinal in question has taken the oath, receives the paper and carries it to the altar in such a way that every one can see it. When all in the chapel have voted, and the infirmarians have brought the voting-papers of the sick, the counting is proceeded with. The first scrutineer shakes the chalice and mixes the papers, and then the third counts them, placing them as he does so one by one in a second chalice. If the number of papers does not correspond with

* In the first scrutiny of the last conclave several papers were annulled because they were wrongly sealed; in the second, one was invalid because the name was unintelligible; and in the third, another because it bore the words "Eligo in sumnum Pontificem R.D. Cardinalem Neminem"—*Cardinal Nobody!* Mistakes such as these incline one to judge less severely the absurd blunders made by uneducated voters in English parliamentary and municipal elections!

the number of electors present, the papers are immediately burnt * and a fresh vote taken. But if the numbers tally the scrutineers leave the altar, at which they had been sitting, and go to the table in front of it, the senior bearing the chalice which contains the voting-papers. At the table the first scrutineer takes a paper from the chalice, reads the name on it, and passes it to the second, who in turn, after reading the name, passes it to the third. He proclaims the name, and the other cardinals note the vote on a list of the Sacred College with which each has been provided. When all the papers have been dealt with in this way, the names of those who have received votes are read out with the number obtained by each, and then the voting-papers are pierced and tied together by a string passing through the hole thus made. If no one has the requisite majority of two-thirds, a second vote, that of *accession*, is taken, to enable such cardinals as may wish to do so to transfer their vote to some one else. This is done to give an opportunity of settling an election at once, as if it appears from the scrutiny that some one has received a considerable number of votes, some of the electors who did not vote for him at first may be disposed to *accede* to him. In this second ballot no one may vote for the same candidate as he did in the first, else he would be enjoying two votes; and no vote can be given for any one who did not receive at least one in the scrutiny. But every one must hand in a voting-paper, which must bear the same motto and number and be sealed with the same seal as in the scrutiny. Should a cardinal not wish to change his vote, the elector says that he accedes *Cardinali Nemini*—to Cardinal Nobody. If the accessions seem to give some one a majority, the voting-papers are carefully recounted, and if the second count tallies with the first, the seals of the accession papers which help to make up the majority are examined. The lower sections of these, and the scrutiny papers bearing the same seals, are opened, so that the mottoes and numbers may be compared. If there should still be any grounds

* There is a stove in the chapel for the purpose of burning the voting papers. All papers are burnt immediately after a scrutiny, and if no election has been made some damp straw is mixed with them to announce the fact to the outer world. The approximate times being known the *sfumate* is eagerly looked for by the people of Rome.

for doubt, the upper seals are broken and the names of the acceding cardinals read. In one other case only is this done, when some one gets exactly a two-thirds majority, and then the names of all the majority are read to make it quite certain that the elected has not voted for himself. Should either the original scrutiny or the accession procure the required majority, the junior cardinal-deacon draws by lot the names of three of his order to act as revisors, and verify the counting; and so soon as this has been done the voting-papers are burnt.

Directly the revisors announce that the majority has been obtained, the junior cardinal-deacon summons the secretary of the conclave and the master of ceremonies. Accompanied by these two officials and by the chiefs of the orders of priests and deacons, the dean goes to the cardinal who has been elected and asks him whether he will accept the dignity. If he signifies his consent the other cardinals lower the canopies over their stalls, their joint jurisdiction being now at an end, and the two next to him withdraw, so leaving a vacant stall on either side of the new pope. The dean asks what name he will assume, in accordance with a practice nearly a thousand years old, and then announces it to the Sacred College. The final step is for the prefect of ceremonies, who is a protonotary-apostolic, to draw up the official account of the election, of which election certainly not the least striking features are the precautions taken against foul play, which are at once a forcible reminder that after all the most exalted of dignitaries are but men, and a sure preventative of the election being called into question at a later date.

Whilst the protonotary is drawing up his document, the two senior cardinal-deacons lead the pope to the altar, and thence, after praying awhile, to a vestry, where three white cassocks, in different sizes, with the rest of the papal dress, are ready prepared. Here he puts on the white cassock, white stockings, and white skull-cap, with the red mozzetta stole and shoes which constitute the ordinary papal dress, unless it should happen to be the octave of Easter, when his mozzetta would be of white damask. He then returns to the altar. There sitting he receives the obedience, or adoration,* of the cardinals

* Some Protestant writers have argued from this term that divine honours

whilst the *Te Deum* is sung, and then names his camerlengo and sometimes his chief officials. After this the election is announced to the world by the senior cardinal-deacon, who, preceded by the papal cross, goes to the balcony of St. Peter's and there proclaims the name of the new pope to the people collected in the great piazza ; and this announcement should be followed by a salute from the Castel St. Angelo.

The first public act of the new pope is to give the blessing *urbi et orbi* from the loggia of St. Peter's, looking over the piazza. This is followed by the second adoration of the cardinals in the Sistine chapel, for which ceremony the pope, wearing the episcopal vestments, with his mitre on his head, sits on the altar. On the same day, or on the morrow, the third adoration is made in St. Peter's, where the pope sits on the high altar over the confession. In 1878 changes were made in this ceremonial. The pontifical blessing was given by the pope looking into the basilica, instead of the piazza, and the third adoration of the cardinals was made in the Sistine chapel, in which also took place the ceremony of the coronation, which will shortly be described.

From the moment of his acceptance the pope has a plenitude of jurisdiction ; but it may happen that he is not a bishop. It is not necessary for him to have received any orders ; and in the course of history there have been a few instances of the election of a clerk in minor orders, and a few of the election of a sub-deacon. In early times it was generally a deacon ; the election of a priest was rarer ; and there is no instance of the election of a bishop before the end of the ninth century. In recent times Pius III. and Leo X., in the sixteenth century, were deacons ; whilst Clement VIII., in the sixteenth, Clement XI., in the seventeenth, Clement XIV. and Pius VI. in the eighteenth, and Gregory XVI., in the present century, were priests only. In such a case the newly-elected pope must be ordained, or consecrated, or both. Formerly, if a deacon, it has been said that he was not always ordained priest, but was forthwith consecrated bishop ; but this is no longer the case.

are paid to the pope. It is hardly necessary to point out that even in English “*adore*” can be used in other senses than that of divine worship ; whilst as to the charge itself it is much the same as if a foreign writer should accuse every Anglican married man of paying divine honours to his wife because at his marriage he said, “*With my body I thee worship.*”

A pope may receive all his orders in one day. Should he only be in minor orders for the subdiaconate, he would be seated on his throne in the episcopal vestments and wearing the mitre when he received the sacred vessels, the book of the Epistles, and the maniple from the officiating prelate. And should he only receive the subdiaconate on that day, he would still give the solemn blessing at the end of mass, after which the ordainer, kneeling, would wish him life *ad multos annos*. The same takes place after he is ordained deacon or priest. To receive the imposition of hands for the diaconate he is similarly seated on his throne, the celebrant alone, of all the bishops and cardinals present, wearing his mitre. So when he is ordained priest he sits for the unction, communicates at the side of the celebrant, and gives the kiss of peace to the celebrant, the other cardinals, and any bishops who may be present. When a pope has to be consecrated the officiating prelate is the cardinal-dean, the privilege having belonged to the see of Ostia from very early times. The rite differs remarkably from that for the consecration of any other bishop, in that the ceremony is completed before the beginning of the mass which is sung by the newly-consecrated pope; to whom too is made the offering of bread and wine, which is usually made to the consecrator.

It may or may not be necessary to consecrate him, but every pope must be crowned. Till this has been done he expedites no bull, except under circumstances of the utmost urgency, and even then the leaden seal would not bear his name. The coronation originally took place on the same day as the consecration, and may still do so when consecration is necessary, in which case the various ceremonies are scattered through the pontifical mass which follows the consecration. But generally speaking the coronation is a separate ceremony.

At the time appointed for it, the pope, surrounded by his court, is carried into the portico of St. Peter's, where, as he sits before the walled-up *porta santa*, the archpriest presents to him the clergy of the basilica, who make their obedience. He is then carried to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and thence to his throne in the chapel of St. Gregory, where he receives the obedience of the cardinals, patriarchs, bishops, and other prelates. When this is over he intones tierce, and whilst

it is being sung, vests for the high mass which is to follow, in the ordinary pontifical vestments, with fanon, falda, and saccone, but without the pallium. Then, seated on the *sedia gestatoria*, preceded by the papal cross, but without a crosier, which a pope never uses except, perchance, when he may be in the diocese of Treves, he sets out for the high altar. Twice the procession is interrupted, once on reaching the nave, and once at the statue of St. Peter. Each time a master of ceremonies lights some tow, and as it burns, kneeling, he sings in a grave tone, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*, "Holy Father, so passes the glory of the world." This is done a third time when the altar is reached, and then the pope makes the ordinary preparation for mass, saying the psalm *Judica*, and the confession. The *sedia* meantime has been placed in the middle of the choir, and before incensing the altar his holiness returns to it for the purpose of receiving the pallium. After the prescribed prayers have been said by the dean the sub-dean and the third in rank of the cardinal-bishops, the pallium is placed on the pope's shoulders by the senior cardinal deacon,* and fastened to the chasuble by the next in rank. The pope then returns to the altar with his ministers and incenses it as usual. When this is finished he goes to the throne to receive the obedience of the cardinals, after which the senior cardinal-deacon, staff in hand, goes down into the confession and there intones a short litany, the responses being made by the choir. The mass then proceeds in the ordinary way to the end, with all the ceremonies peculiar to one sung by the pope. When it is over, the pope puts on his mitre of cloth of gold, and is borne to a throne prepared in the loggia.

The choir sings the anthem, *Corona aurea super caput ejus*, and when this is finished the cardinal-deacon sings a pater and a collect. The second cardinal-deacon then removes the mitre, and the senior cardinal-deacon puts the tiara on the pope's head.† Some more prayers are then said, and the ceremony is brought to a close by the solemn papal blessing.

* As he puts it on he says: "Accipe pallium sanctum plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et glorioissimæ Virginis Mariæ ejus matris, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Sanctæ Romanae Ecclesie."

† He says at the same time: "Accipe tiarem, tribus coronis ornatam, et

Two things more remain to be done by the new pope. He has to swear that he will observe the apostolic constitutions, which he does in a consistory held shortly after his coronation ; and he has to take possession of his cathedral. The latter had to be dispensed with in 1878, but when it could be done the pope was accustomed to go in state to the basilica of St. John Lateran. There, before entering the church, he put on the pontifical vestments, sitting on a throne erected for the occasion near the door. Next the archpriest presented the keys of the basilica, one of gold and one of silver, in a basin filled with flowers. This was followed by the obedience of the cathedral clergy, after which the pope was borne to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament as the choir sang *Te Deum*, and thence to the confession as the choir sang the anthem *Petrus Apostolus*. At the confession he venerated the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, whose heads are preserved there, and was then carried to the throne at the end of the apse. There he received the obedience of the cardinals and gave to each one as he made it two medals, one of gold and one of silver. The senior cardinal priest then intoned the same litanies as were sung at the coronation mass, and when they were ended the pope placed on the altar a purse containing a sum of money for the basilica. From the altar he was carried to the loggia, where he brought the ceremony to a close by the solemn blessing *urbi et orbi*.

A word in conclusion concerning the book from which most of the information contained in the present article has been drawn. The author conceals his identity under a pseudonym but is said to be a prelate who has held high office in Rome ; he certainly has had access to sources of information beyond the reach of the general public. The book itself is a testimony to his industry in the collection of facts, and a mine of information for all who may be interested in the history of the law of papal elections, whilst those who like what may be called the gossip of conclaves will find sufficient to gratify their curiosity. The author has perhaps been too ready to introduce matter which, interesting as it is in itself, has no immediate

scias te esse pater principum et regum rectorem orbis in terra, vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen."

bearing on the election, such, for example, as the lengthy account, extending over three or four chapters, of the obsequies of the pope and the government of the church during the interregnum. But the most serious faults in *Le Conclave* are the want of proper arrangement, a considerable obstacle to the practical utility of a book of this kind, and the absence of an index, which is simply unpardonable. The latter of these can be simply remedied in a future edition; when too, it is to be hoped that a more careful reading of the proofs will render unnecessary so terribly long a list of *corrigenda*. But to remedy the former it would be necessary to recast the book, the doing of which, though troublesome, would considerably add to its present value, which is saying much.

EGERTON BECK.

ART. V.—THE CARDINAL OF YORK.

AMONGST all the storied stones of Rome, sacred and imperial, the Palazzo Muti—now Balestra, previously Savorelli—counts for little with either Catholic pilgrim or common tourist. It stands by the Piazza of the Holy Apostles, Saints Philip and James, whose bodies are enshrined in the adjoining church, on the site of the headquarters of the ancient Roman Vigiles, or firemen, and near the modern American College. It is famous neither for architectural beauty nor wealth of stored treasures, yet it is full of deep historical interest to Britons; even of memories that may well be counted sacred by Catholics. It was for more than seventy years the home of the last princes of the royal house of Stuart, discrowned and banished for their faith from the inheritance of their fathers. Over its doors the crowned arms of Great Britain, France, and Ireland were blazoned. A royal guard was mounted before them. Within its gloomy walls dwelt the English-born prince, only surviving son of James II., known to the faithful of his kingdoms as King James III. and VIII.; also to the Papal and all the Catholic courts of Europe, and now and then to some Protestant courts, when such acknowledgment of his birthright happened to serve their private and temporary interests.

In 1719, in his thirty-first year, and three years after his second Scottish expedition, he married the Princess Maria Clementina Sobieska, granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland. She brought to the exiled king twenty-five millions of dowry and some famous jewels. Their elder son, Charles Edward Lewis Casimir, Prince of Wales, was born on December 31, 1720: their younger son, Henry Benedict Mary Clement, Duke of York, on March 6, 1725. Pope Benedict XIV. himself baptised the little Duke of York immediately after his birth.

Intrigue and dissension raged round the very cradle of the last Stuart prince. James was harassed on all sides by counsellors, all fiercely scrambling for influence over himself and his sons; all fiercely jealous of each other—Catholic of Protestant,

Scottish of English and Irish. As Bolingbroke wrote of his court to Wyndham a few years earlier : "There were a multitude of people at work, every one doing what was right in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert." The religious questions, which had cost the family crown and country, now divided counsels and embittered the closest domestic relations. The Queen died in 1735, and the little princes grew up, knocked about from Catholic pillar to Protestant post. The younger prince came unscathed out of the ordeal, but the faith of the elder was sapped, to his own miserable ruin and the ultimate ruin of his house.

The King, always the most affectionate and patient of fathers, brought his sons up to be sturdy English gentlemen. From early childhood they were made accurately acquainted with English names and family histories. They always spoke English *en famille*, and ate by preference of English dishes. They were both passionately fond of hunting, and played golf in the palace gardens. They were both musical: played the violoncello and harpsichord, and sang with sweetness and taste. They gave weekly concerts, where the best music in Rome was to be heard, and where they themselves performed—concerts largely frequented by English tourists, who were always anxious to see the king and princes.

For solid education the boys were sadly behind the standard of contemporary princes. Henry's capacity was said to be superior to his brother's, to which the elder always affectionately testified. His letters are certainly well expressed and correctly spelt, whereas the spelling of Prince Charles comes upon one with a shock. Both were fond of history, and spoke French, English, and Italian, with a smattering of Latin. Both had handsome Stuart faces, and amiable and graceful Stuart manners. We have many portraits of the boys; the pair are now to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery. The Duke of York was the handsomer in early youth. His face is peculiarly sweet, though we are told that at seventeen he had become dark and heavy of build,* and he never attained to the lofty stature of his father and brother. He was the more popular in Roman

* "Eneas and His Two Sons."

society for his pretty manners,* and was a graceful and unwearying dancer.

Though “Æneas” says that Prince Henry was originally intended for the Church, he showed little sign of religious vocation in his boyhood. He was serious and fervently pious, but he was more of a Sobieski than a Stuart in temperament as in appearance: a proud, passionate boy, of high spirits and activity; “in all ways preferable to himself,” says Prince Charles; “with more spirit than his elder brother,” says Gray, the poet; haughty, impatient of contradiction, obstinate in his opinions, prone to fits of passion which were succeeded by days of sullenness. He heartily, and perhaps too openly, despised the Italians for their effeminacy. To those who pleased him, he was “as sweet as summer,” always ready to overlook offences that came of inadvertency. He had a large share of courage.† At nine years old he was eager to ride with his brother and the young King of Naples to the siege of Gaeta, and passionately flung away his little sword when refused permission to “flesh” it so early. To punish him, his father took away his garter, saying it did not become him to wear one without the other. “Nature seemed to have designed him to make a figure in a military way.”‡ His warlike tastes and his courage would well have fitted him for the military career he sought, but it was feared that his quick temper, inherited from his mother, must have stood in the way of his ever succeeding as a commander such as his Polish great-grandfather and his famous uncle, Marshal Berwick. His moral character from first to last was absolutely stainless, and he required regularity of conduct in others as strictly as he required it of himself.

The sad little family was bound together by ties of the warmest affection. To break this touching union, in which was so much formidable strength, was the restless care of the enemy. The King’s trust was sadly betrayed by his sons’ tutors, some of whom were undoubtedly in the pay of the Hanoverian Government, charged to demoralise the boys, upon whom lay all the hopes of the Jacobites and of the Catholic Church.

* Des Brosses.

† “Æneas and His Two Sons.”

‡ *Ibid.*

Religion being the cause of their banishment, their less scrupulous adherents endeavoured to persuade the English people that the princes were being brought up as Protestants. This fable not serving their purpose, they next attempted so to undermine the religion of the princes as to bring it down to the level presumably required by the Anglican Church for its head, exemplified in the well-known piety and morality of its chosen sovereigns of the House of Hanover. In 1742, Prince Charles being one-and-twenty years of age, Prince Henry seventeen, the King was cruelly pained and shocked at discovering that certain manœuvres and intrigues were going on in his household, though he was unable at the time to understand their source and object. After some years, by putting circumstances together, he came to see too clearly that it was a union of men who had taken it into their heads to court merit and popularity in England * and thereby to make their fortune, by trying to win his sons to the irreligion they themselves professed. The effects of these manœuvres were not alike. With the Prince of Wales they had a too certain success. He was excitable, fond of all sorts of amusement, and even then too ready to indulge in wine. It was impressed upon him that religion alone stood between him and the crown, and that, though he might not as yet offend his father and their Catholic supporters by openly renouncing his faith, he would prove to the English a noble independence of the Church by living an evil life in defiance of its precepts. Prince Henry was, however, of a much more serious character, and too delicate in health to permit any excess. Being neither willing nor able to enter into their ideas, he soon drew upon himself their rage and malice. The leader of this system was that Francis Strickland whom James styled "the worst of men," and who, in spite of all warnings, accompanied Prince Charles to Moidart. Associated with him was a gentleman of the name of Townley, whom the King considered to be rather a fool than a knave. Prince Charles was instigated to aim at unfilial and disloyal independence: there was already a "King's Party" and a "Prince's Party." His brother was despised

* King James's letter to Colonel O'Brien, August 30, 1745 (Browne's "History of the Highlands," vol. iii. p. 445).

as a bigoted Papist, persecuted and even calumniated to English travellers and Spanish officers. Strickland feigned an affectionate loyalty towards his master, who, though puzzled and anxious, was for the time half deceived.*

In spite of intrigues, the princes remained tenderly attached to each other. Prince Henry was not taken into the confidence of his father and brother in the matter of that sudden secret flight from Rome at the midnight of January 9, 1744, when Prince Charles put fate to the touch and rode for Dunkirk—and England! There followed a weary time of waiting and inactivity while France played fast and loose with the Royal Adventurer she was so deeply pledged to support: now petting and promising, now snubbing and betraying. We hear nothing of the Duke of York for the first year of Charles' absence. On March 1, 1745, the King writes to Prince Charles :

Your brother has made a shift to divert himself a good dale these days past. He had a private comedy and a ball t'other night at Count Mariscollis and to-morrow night he is to end the Carnaval with a grand supper at M^o Bolognelli's. To-night he has at home the third and last ball.

A week later he writes: "The Duke had a great conver-sazione on Saturday for his birthday when there was a vast dale of company."

The King, despairing of the French assistance which he believed to be absolutely necessary for the opening of a campaign in the British Isles, applied to the Court of Madrid for leave for his younger son to serve with the Spanish army in Italy. He was not only anxious to find employment for the boy, but to separate him from the men who were about him, whom James was just then beginning to distrust. Townley, being refused permission to follow the Duke in his campaign should he make one, returned to France. A fortnight later, Strickland sought the Duke and expressed great concern for having incurred his displeasure; disowned all share in Townley's operations and professed to be pleased at his dismissal; pretended to have meddled in nothing that related to

* Letter from the King to Prince Charles, February 3, 1747 (Browne's "History of the Highlands").

him for some years past ; but owned he had formerly complained of the Duke to the King by express order of Prince Charles.* The Duke said little, but spoke of his brother with the greatest respect and confidence of his affection. " You may judge by it," the King writes to Prince Charles : " what odd work we have amongst us. It is inconceivable with what malice and violence people have acted against the Duke."

At last came the startling news that Prince Charles, weary of waiting for help, had set sail for the ancient kingdom of his fathers. James was much distressed by the rashness of such a proceeding, but took heart from hearing how its daring was acclaimed by the French as well as the Scotch. Prince Henry would remain no longer in Rome, waiting for a Spanish commission. He was eager at any risk to join his brother, but that the King could not permit in the present state of uncertainty. If ever the French should send troops into England, the Duke of York with the Duke of Ormond must be at their head ; but at present he must not cross the sea. That he might be more conveniently at hand, his father sent him to Avignon, whence he must himself write to the King of France, and in a kind of incognito, await his orders. Henry left Rome on August 29, 1745. He was anxious to be attended by a certain Captain Hay, but the King could not spare that gentleman from his own service, and he wrote to Sir John Grahame, Prince Henry's tutor, who had been about the prince ever since he was a child, to join him as his sole attendant. Indeed, James could not afford to give him a numerous attendance, and would have enough to do to keep him with decency at Avignon, should he stay there any time. Money was scarce in spite of the large dowry of the late queen and the handsome pension from the Pope. James was drained with remittances to Prince Charles. Prince Henry had pawned his own jewels for his brother's assistance. There were always numerous impoverished adherents to pension and assist, and the pension granted annually to the Duke of York since his mother's death had not been paid to the King for that year. He scarcely knew how to keep up three separate establish-

* The King to Prince Charles, March 23, 1745 (Browne's "History of the Highlands").

ments for himself and his sons. In spite of the good fortune which at first attended Charles in Scotland, James had no hope of the final success of the expedition, unless France should send assistance. He seems to have fully understood the irresistible barrier of religion that must ever stand between his family and the crown. Argenson too understood the circumstances, though he would have had the Stuarts cut the Gordian knot by renouncing their impolitic conscience.

On October 28, 1745, Charles being then victoriously reigning in Edinburgh, Prince Henry turned up in Paris, eager to appeal personally to the vacillating French King on behalf of his brother, who was compelled to delay pursuing his success by marching south for lack of French support. He went first to the friendly roof of his cousin the Duke de Bouillon, son of Queen Clementina's sister Caroline, where, on November 14, Lord Sempill and Mr. Drummond of Bochaldy hastened to put themselves at His Royal Highness's feet. "We were both extremely happy to find him so well recovered," Bochaldy writes to King James, "and in so much spirits, among a number of his friends of the Bouillon family."

He took a house at Bagneux near Paris, and sought through the Marquis d'Argenson, the Foreign Minister, to obtain audience of the King. D'Argenson informed the King of the young Prince's arrival and request, which was not refused, only forgotten by the careless, pleasure-loving monarch. At half-past six in the evening Louis suddenly remembered his engagement, and bewildered the Duc de Gesvres by sending for him in a violent hurry to bid him summon "the Prince." De Gesvres did not know what prince nor where to find him and it was, according to etiquette, impossible to ask the King for further information. While Louis impatiently awaited his visitor, De Gesvres by dint of frantic inquiries discovered that a foreign young gentleman whose name must not be named but who might possibly be the "Prince of England," was waiting in a small cabinet below. He was unearthed and brought to the King's closet. He made a profound reverence and advanced to salute the King. Louis was embarrassed, not wishing to kiss the Prince, who was really incognito as Count of Albany, and it was inconvenient to recognise his rank. The Prince, however, confidently advanced and was

kissed. He conversed for some time with the King with great good sense, and impressed the Court with his very noble air and respectful manner. He spoke gracefully of the obligations his family were under to the House of France ; of his brother's bright prospects and the zeal and fidelity of the Scotch for their lawful sovereign ; of the necessity for the French King's prompt help that those hopes and longings should be realised, help now more pressing than ever, that the Prince might not be crushed by the numbers of his gathering enemies.

Louis was always uneasy with strangers and did not immediately answer ; then declared his belief in the justice of the Stuart cause, and kindly promised to continue his favour. Henry reminded the King how vainly his brother had attempted to procure an audience while he was in Paris. Louis was silent. D'Argenson and de Gesvres took up the conversation, and then Louis asked if the Pope were not the Prince's Godfather. He replied that he had been given many names, but had chosen to be called Henry, doubtless guessing that Papal sponsorship to be a grave disadvantage in Louis's eyes, to reckon against any assistance that might be sent against Protestant England. Louis shirked politics and went on with a weary catechism as to the Prince's education ; then bethought himself of sending for the Dauphin to help him out of the awkward interview. He had forgotten to tell the Dauphin of the Duke of York's presence, and the Dauphin came in a hurry, not knowing whom he was to meet. He kissed the royal stranger, hearing the King had done so, and everybody was very much embarrassed. The poor little Prince, his heart aching with suspense, keenly aware of the embarrassment of his hosts and the unfriendliness that caused it, did not forget his pretty manners and congratulated the Dauphin upon the recent campaign in Flanders, and thanked the King for allowing him to see his son. After these compliments the conversation languished hopelessly. The interview had lasted half an hour and de Gesvres thought it time to end it. He remarked to the King that the young Prince had evidently been ill and needed rest. Henry admitted he had recently had a fever and was now shivering. He made his reverence and retired without any more embracing. He

did not know his way out, and nobody seemed willing to trouble any more about him. De Gesvres, however, accompanied him. Henry asked his guide's name, said he was afraid he had been too pressing, but de Gesvres must understand how necessary to them was the King's help and protection. He was then handed over to another official, and huddled down a dark staircase and out of the palace to D'Argenson's house. From thence he went to sup and sleep at the house of O'Brien, his father's *charge d'affairs*, where he was met by Cardinal Tencin, who, owing his hat to King James' nomination, was the mainstay of the Stuarts in Paris.

The visit was not without fruit—such apples of Sodom as might be gathered in France. Six thousand men should be sent to England under Lord Clare and the Duc de Richelieu, or the Duc de FitzJames. Two months passed and nothing was done, save that on December 15 the Queen Marie Leczinska sent for the Duke of York to visit her in her private closet, not having seen him at Fontainebleau. She was a Pole and always affectionately disposed towards the sons of Clementina Sobieska. The Princesse de Conti, who knew him well, brought him into her presence, the Duchesse de Luynes and M. de la Mothe being present. The Dauphiness was sent for and they kissed the Prince without embarrassment this time, his incognito not being in force in private. But the visit was short; nobody even sat down.*

On Christmas day the Duke of York left Paris for Dunkirk, hoping to take command at once of the promised fleet, with Messieurs de Turenne and de Montbazan, son and son-in-law of that fast friend the Duc de Bouillon, as aides-de-camp. The Duc de Richelieu was to command under the Prince, and eleven thousand men, a train of artillery, and several horses were assembled. There was nothing against the success of the expedition, said Voltaire, except its impossibility. This excuse can hardly be accepted. For France went on shilly-shallying, though she spent five million francs over it, and the young Prince was kept eating his heart out on the coast, in sight of the white cliffs of his country, and no effort was made to put the fleet under weigh.

* "Mémoires du Duc de Luynes," tome 7ième.

D'Argenson is anxious to bring a charge of cowardice against the young Prince, whom all who knew him declare to have been of the most undoubted courage. D'Argenson's story really proves nothing of the sort, though it was repeated to Prince Charles for the purpose of setting him against his brother, whom De Luynes at this time declared to love him so passionately.

It was a dark night at the end of 1745, a week before the project of embarkation at Boulogne was abandoned. The greater number of the ships, with the Prince and Richelieu at their head, could have got out of the harbour unobserved. The English ships were far off, but there was a certain amount of danger. A council was held: the majority were for sailing. Two leaders declared the risk too great to be run, that the Duke of York's ship would be sunk at once. The Duke decided not to sail and the opportunity, such as it was, went by.*

The Duc de Richelieu, wearied of inaction, returned to Paris, complaining impatiently of the Duke's undisguised piety, which he had tried vainly to persuade him to dissemble before his Protestant followers. He never passed before a crucifix or an altar without bending his knee like a sacristan,† says d'Argenson contemptuously: "The sort of practices in vogue at Rome but which we never practice in France;" where even to make the sign of the cross seems to have been out of courtly fashion.

Still the fleet and the little army remained on the coast with the Duke and Lord Clare. In January the Duke managed to send a letter to Sir Watkin Williams, urging him to rally with his friends to the assistance of Prince Charles, and to seize some seaport town. The King was annoyed at this futile proceeding, being too fully aware of the state of things in England, the helplessness of the Welsh squires without arms or troops, the gathering strength of the enemy round London.‡

The Duke waited on the coast until Culloden brought the

* "Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson," tome iv.

† *Ibid.*, tome vi.

‡ Letter from the King to Prince Henry, February 1, 1746 (Browne's "History of the Highlands").

last stroke of ruin to the Stuart cause. He did not return to Rome. In May 1746 he was at Arras. In June he went to visit the Duke de Bouillon in Navarre. Here Colonel Warren, on his way to fetch the fugitive Prince of Wales from the Highlands, arrived towards the end of July. He writes to King James from Paris, August 1, 1746 :

The present orders were intimated to me just as I was about to part for Navarre, there to make my court to his Royal Highness the Duke, and to receive from him due instructions relating to the present circumstances : it's wonderful how capable he is of giving good ones though so young.

He was at Clichy in October when he received the anxiously awaited tidings of the Prince's landing at Morlaix in Brittany. On October 15, the long parted brothers met. Neither absence nor intrigues had diminished their affection.

The very morning after I writ you my last [Prince Henry writes to his father] I had the happiness of meeting with my dearest brother. Your Majesty may conceive it better than I can express in writing. The tenderness of our first meeting. Those that were present said they never saw the like in their lives, and indeed I defy the whole world another brother so kind and so loving as he is to me.*

For a while the brothers lived together at Clichy and all went fairly well. The French King received them kindly, the crowds cheered them, the Dauphin was very friendly and the Queen most gracious. The hero of Scotland was feted everywhere, and the extraordinary affection between the brothers was universally commented upon.

Eager interest was taken to find Prince Charles a royal bride. He alone was indifferent on the matter, and seems to have suggested to his father that his brother might set him the example of marriage, for the King writes to him upon the subject, December 16, 1746 :

It must be very obvious to everybody that it is for the interest of our family that at least you and your brother should marry, but I don't see neither such haste in the matter. This is a very critical juncture and if our great affairs should yet go well, you might both of you have the first princesses of Europe, whereas perhaps now you could not have the last ; and besides, naturally speaking, on all accounts methinks you

* "Journal d'Argenson," tome iv. p. 320.

should think of marrying yourself before your brother. When you explain your idea to me, I shall be better able to judge of it, and it is useless till then to say any more on the subject.*

There is no suspicion here of a religious vocation for the Duke of York. So long as there was any chance of being actively useful to his brother, Prince Henry unselfishly sacrificed his private desires. With O'Brien, he appealed to D'Argenson, the Foreign Minister, that he would intercede with the Hanoverian Ministry for mitigation of the impolitic cruelties and barbarities with which the Highlanders were being harried: news of which drove Prince Charles frantic with grief.

King James arranged to send the younger prince to Spain, deeming it advisable that he should have a son at each court. When Charles heard of the plan, he stopped it by hastening himself to Madrid, quite secretly as far as the French Court knew, to seek assistance from the King of Spain. In February, 1747, while he was absent, the Dauphin, who had lost his first wife, was married at Choisy to the Princess Maria Josephine de Saxe, and the Duke of York was present at the wedding ball.

Prince Charles returned from Spain about March 20; he had been received with coldness and refused sympathy. Discord, sown and fanned by Strickland and the Kellys, the most influential members of his household, had already begun to smoulder between the brothers and now burst into a flame. There was a sudden change of countenance at the French Court. Such poor hopes as Charles brought back from Scotland were wounded and worn out. He was thrown upon a set of unprincipled partisans who set themselves again to sap all religion and morality in the hapless prince. Bitter with disappointment, maddened by hope deferred, smarting from indignities, the prince fell an easy prey to the tempters who surrounded him. It was again urged that the religion in which he had been brought up was "un-English;" that a temperate way of living was also one that would prejudice him in the estimation of the jovial Squire Westerns and Bolingbrokes on whom he depended for English support. His brother expostulated, and he was persuaded that his brother

* Browne's "History of the Highlands."

was jealous and a fool ; his father expostulated, tenderly and patiently, and he broke with his father altogether, and lived "as savage a life almost as he had lived among the Highland mountains." *

The princes separated but continued to see each other constantly, and there was still strong affection between them, though Charles treated his junior with a harshness and haughtiness which the latter, being of a temper somewhat lively,† found it hard to suffer even though his brother were, as Regent, virtually his sovereign. Then the blow fell that was to part them for twenty years.

On April 29 the Duke of York invited his brother to supper. Prince Charles arrived. The guests were waiting, the house was illuminated, but the host was missing : had not been seen for five hours. Sir John Graham knew nothing. The Prince waited for him until midnight in an agony of fear lest his brother should have been murdered or kidnapped by Hanoverian emissaries in mistake for himself.‡ Not for three days was his suspense relieved by a letter from the missing Duke,§ dated Paris, April 29, written evidently before his departure :

DEAR BROTHER,—I begin by begging you ten thousand pardons for having gone away without acquainting you beforehand. I own I deserve your anger before you have time to consider on the motives that induced me to take that step at present and to conceal it from you. I have such confidence in your goodness that I am persuaded I shall have as kind and loving an answer to this letter as has been your custom to give me to so many I have had the satisfaction to write to you since we have had occasion to be separate. I own to you plainly I have had a great longing to pay a visit to our dear king and father, who has been nearly two years now without having seen any of us, and my desire would be so easily convinced, that I venture to say, were I only to stay with him one fortnight, it would be of inexplicable comfort to me. As far as that I am sure you would be the first to approve. Now as to the time, what better could I take than, after having also of my side asked to make the campaign, I saw and knew positively it was useless for me to expect it. I could by consequence be of no particular use, your being here being more

* D'Argenson.

† Prince Charles to the King.

‡ "Journal et Mémoires d'Argenson," tome v. p. 99.

§ Browne's "History of the Highlands," vol. iii. letter lxxxi. Prince Henry to Prince Charles.

than sufficient for the mean point, so that all in reality consists to my spending that time which I would have done in running about Paris in the publick I am in, whilst all people are in campagne to spend it, and say, in making a journey which, by the comfort and exercise it will give me, must naturally be of great use to my health, which you know, is in a bad enough condition. You may be sure I have made my strict enquiries as to the road, and find it equally sure and equally easy both as to going and as to comeing back. Finally, as to the motive of my concealing it from you, seek no other reason, but reflect on the tenderness you have for me. Have I not reason to conclude that you would not have allowed me to leave you without an expresse order from the King? At the same time my desire of seeing him is stronger than myself, and I had no time to loose not to travell just in the violence of the heats, but when once I have been with him, were he to think it necessary for your service, I should not stay till autome, but come back in the dog days. I would, I assure you, obey him very willingly. Having nothing more to add, I remain,

Dear Brother,
 With the utmost respect and tenderness,
 Your most loving brother,
 HENRY.

Charles was furious, and wrote at once to his father, which was the first news the King had of his son's journey. James highly approved the step; was pleased to have the boy home "for the summer," and remonstrated with the Prince for his unreasonable wrath. Six weeks elapsed, and then the true explanation of the journey was forthcoming. James wrote, June 9, to the King of France, and to Prince Charles, June 13. It had not been solely for the pleasure of seeing his father that Prince Henry took his abrupt journey, but to consult him as to his religious vocation. He had been given to piety since his childhood, and the life he had lived in the world for his twenty-two years was to his father unmistakable proof of the purity of his motives and the reality of his vocation, so that the King would have believed himself to oppose the will of God should he resist the pious wish of his son. They had consulted the Holy Father, who highly approved and promised a Cardinal's hat at once to the young prince.*

Writing to Prince Charles, James went more into detail.

* The King to the King of France (Browne's "History of the Highlands," iv. letter xciv.).

He set before him the improbability that his brother could ever be of use to him, and therefore the needlessness of interfering with so sincere and solid a vocation. The letter is given at length in Lord Stanhope's "History of England," kind, wise and patient as are all the much-tried King's letters to his wayward eldest-born. He enclosed a touching little letter from the Cardinal-designate, completed in the King's handwriting, assuring him of his own unchanging love. From henceforth James overlooked all the young Cardinal's letters to his brother; revised, corrected, and sometimes finished them in his own hand.

Charles was beside himself with rage, and loudly blamed the influence of Tencin for his brother's action. D'Argenson,* November 1747, declares on the authority of "a certain Madame . . ." that Tencin and the O'Briens had been bribed by a large sum of money from England to persuade Prince Henry to become a Cardinal. It was what England desired more than anything in the world. The Prince would thus be excluded for ever from the throne of his fathers, and his cardinalate would greatly prejudice the prosperity of his elder brother. D'Argenson, who is all for this world and its interests, goes on to protest that precisely the opposite mode of action should have been taken by these princes. They should have withdrawn from Rome and avoided all appearance of Catholicism. But the O'Briens, he pretends, played upon King James's conscience to persuade him to act so violently against his interests; representing that if ever Henry, by default of his brother, should come to the throne, it must be by denying his Catholic faith and eating of meats sacrificed to idols.

There is no doubt that the acceptance of the Cardinal's hat was practical renunciation of the English crown. The intelligence that the young Prince was to put on the Church's scarlet shattered every fragment of hope left to the Jacobites, all of whom abhorred the step taken by the duke as a mortal stroke to their cause. The Scots College at Paris hesitated to congratulate the Prince on his elevation, declaring that when it was known, they could not hold up their faces before their countrymen.

* "Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson," v. 98.

With specially splendid ceremonial, Pope Benedict XIV. created Henry Stuart, Duke of York, a Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church. The Consistory met on June 3, 1747, the Pope presented the royal postulant for election, with a speech to the assembled Cardinals in which he recalled the services rendered to the Church by the young Duke's father and grandfather, their sufferings in her cause, the piety of King James, whose faith had never flinched in temptation or adversity; the efforts made, alas! in vain, for the restoration of the Church in his native land. He reminded them of the graces and virtues of Queen Clementina, and assured them that the son of such parents could not but add to the glory of the Sacred College if admitted within its pale. He was young, only just two and twenty, but St. Charles Borromeo was no older when he was exalted to the same rank. Peter of Luxembourg was only sixteen, Robert de Nobilibus only twelve, when they received the hat, and these all had sustained the dignity to the love and admiration of all.

The Prince was unanimously elected. Precedence was given to him, as a prince of blood royal, over all the other cardinals, next after the Dean of the Sacred College. He wore ermine on his mantle, and cardinals, Roman Princes, and dukes paid him visits of ceremony not to be returned. Sir Horace Mann pretends that this high precedence rankled in the proud breasts of the Roman nobles; though, himself an ambassador, he must have known that the royal cardinal's precedence was a matter of recognised order, not of private arrogance.

Charles disappeared into the darkness of his long incognito, and Henry lived on quietly with his father at the Muti Palace and at their country residence at Albano, devoting himself to the duties of his sacred calling. Silvagni tells us—quoted by Hare in his “Walks in Rome”—that he used to drive from Albano to the Muti Palace with four horses at full gallop, attended by running footmen who were so active and well-trained that they could tire out the fleetest horses. Albano, besides being famed for beautiful scenery and pure air since the days of Horace, was especially interesting to the English-hearted Princes as the See of Nicholas Breakspear, the one English Pope.

The eventless tranquillity of the Princes' lives was startlingly interrupted in the winter of 1749-50, D'Argenson relates, by an attempt made by pirates from Barbary to kidnap them, with the object of earning the clemency of the British Government by handing over to it their royal booty. The King's servants were, however, sufficient to put the pirates to flight.

In 1759 Henry Stuart was consecrated and appointed by Pope Clement XIII. to the Archbishopric of Corinth *in partibus infidelium.*

On July 13, 1761, he was translated to the Roman See of Frascati. It is interesting to remember that until very recently that same See was held by another English Prince of the Church, Cardinal Howard. The Duke of York was also made Archpriest of the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, and in 1763 Vice-Chancellor of St. Peter's. Later on, he was made Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and resided at the Cancelleria while in Rome, but he made his home at Frascati, where he was greatly beloved.

On New Year's Day, 1766, King James died, after seventy-seven years of exile, and his elder son returned from his angry self-banishment to claim his inheritance. The gentle Cardinal received him with all love and honour, and did his utmost to farther the cause of his forgiven brother and sovereign. But the Court of Rome had shaken hands with the Court of St. James's, and refused to acknowledge another Stuart king. There were four years of sullen protest and vain resistance, and then Charles, wearied of mortification, left Rome for Pisa and Florence, and assumed the incognito title of Count of Albany. Though Henry could not obtain for his brother official recognition as King of England, he went on serving him loyally and affectionately: most loyally of all when he persuaded him to give up "that nasty bottle :" loyally, too, when he urged him to marry.

That ill-starred marriage, from which so much was hoped by brother and friends, took place on Good Friday, 1772. It excited lively interest at home. Horace Walpole writes to Sir Horace Mann, April 21, 1772: "The Pretender is certainly married to the Princess of Stolberg. The Cardinal of York's answer last year to the question of *whither his brother was*

gone? is now explained. You told me he replied, ‘Whither he should have gone a year sooner.’”

At the beginning of 1781 the “Countess of Albany” left her husband and fled to Rome, where she threw herself upon the protection of the simple Cardinal of York, loudly accusing the King of cruelty and degrading habits that made their married life impossible, but maintaining a discreet silence upon the coming of the poet whose passion was answerable for that sad relapse into the degradation once so happily abandoned. Henry accepted the story of his “very dear sister,” sympathised with her deeply, and inquired no farther; treating her with unfailing brotherly kindness, though she unreasonably blamed him for the making up of her wretched marriage: in which he declared he had had no hand except to give his formal consent. He arranged for her reception in the same Roman convent in which his mother had taken refuge when she quarrelled with his father. He received her constantly at Frascati and made her handsome presents. Even when Alfieri turned up in Rome a few weeks later, her innocent and blameless brother-in-law was quite unsuspicious of evil. Presently he took her to live with him altogether at Frascati, and Alfieri was received there, as he had been received at the convent, as an intimate friend of the family.

At the beginning of 1783 Charles Edward fell seriously ill and sent for his brother. To him he made full confession as a dying man and received the last Sacraments at his hands. The reconciliation was complete. Then the Cardinal heard for the first time the true account of the rupture between Charles and his young wife and the whole miserable Alfieri story. Charles recovered. The too credulous Vatican was at once undeceived, and Alfieri had fifteen days’ notice to betake himself to Siena. Shortly afterwards he was joined by the Countess of Albany.

The Cardinal was greatly annoyed when Charles sent for his natural daughter, created her Duchess of Albany, and made her mistress of his Florentine household. Always himself a man of the strictest moral character, he could not bring himself to condone his brother’s irregularities even so far as to continue in full the liberal allowance his father had paid for the support of Miss Walkinshaw and her daughter when they left the

prince for Paris. The Cardinal, however, made the acquaintance of his niece at the Baths of Pisa, whither she accompanied her father, and was won at once by her sweetness and goodness and the gracious result of her care and influence upon his brother, who was in a happier and better way than he had been since defeat and hope deferred embittered his temper and broke his heart. Henry persuaded her to bring her father to Rome, where, after two more years of affectionate reunion, the storm-tossed, grief-worn heart found rest. "The torch that once shook itself with such terrific glare over Britain" flickered out.

Charles Edward died at half-past nine of the evening of January 30, 1788. As he had never been "recognised" by the Papal Court, he could not be buried beside his father at St. Peter's with royal honours. Henry therefore had him carried to his own cathedral of Frascati, where, with all kingly pomp and sincere mourning, he was laid to rest.*

The Cardinal formally announced his brother's death to the Courts of Europe, repeating his protest of his own undivided right to the throne of England, maintaining that the sanctity of his episcopal character could be no impediment in the sight of God and man; that he, therefore, thus asserted his right himself, and when he died, would transmit it to the prince next akin. All this he fixed as his last will.† Then he had struck the famous medal, with its pathetic legend: "Henricus Nonus, Angliae Rex Dei Gratia sed non voluntate hominum." From this date his household gave him kingly honours. The younger son's crescent for difference disappears from the royal shield of England which surmounts his episcopal proclamations and other official documents. The ducal coronet over the Cardinal's Hat is exchanged for the crown. He is styled "Henricus Dux Eboracensis nuncupatus," or "Duca di Yorck denominato." So far and no farther, for conscience sake rather than ambition, he set forth his claim.

The Duchess of Albany went to live with her uncle, "whose conduct towards her," says a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "was full of affectionate attention." He not only gave up a large portion of his palace at the Cancelleria for her residence,

* See full account of the funeral ceremonies in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, p. 269, and *Annual Register*, 1788.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, p. 180.

but assigned over to her the entire allowance of £2200 which he enjoyed from the Camera, retaining only his benefices.* She survived her father only a year, having been in delicate health for some time from a riding accident.

The Cardinal was a rich man. He had, besides his Roman preferments, the two rich French abbeys of Auchin and St. Amand, which Louis XV. had presented to him in 1751 and 1755, and had also a considerable pension from Spain. In 1788 he was appointed Protector of all the Capuchin Churches of Rome.

What communications may have passed between him and the Scottish and English Jacobites remain a secret hidden in the archives at Windsor Castle. Though all hope of a restoration had long been abandoned, though an English-born prince sat on the throne of the Stuarts, there were still many thousands in the British Isles and scattered over western plantations and foreign lands who were faithful to the exiled dynasty and the theory of Divine Right. But evil days were upon all the world. A year and a half after Charles Edward's death the Bastille fell, and the peril of the Bourbon throne was of more present and burning interest to all Royalists than the lost throne of the Stuarts. The peaceful Cardinal-King in his retirement was overswept by the storm. In the turmoil and chaos of the French Revolution his French income was lost, not only his benefices, but the money he derived from his brother, which was nearly all invested in France. Napoleon brought his devastating host up to the gates of Rome, and to help the Pope to make up the indemnity demanded by the Corsican conqueror, the Cardinal disposed of all the family jewels, amongst them being the famous ruby, the largest and most perfect known, valued at £50,000. He thus deprived himself of the last means of an independent existence, and on the expulsion of Pius VI. and his court from Rome, was reduced to great distress. After having passed his days in quiet and dignified retirement at his villa near Rome till 1798, he was forced by French revolutionary banditti to renounce his comforts and property if he would save his life. After many wanderings in Sicily and elsewhere, he arrived at Venice in the winter of

* *Quarterly Review*, December 1846, "The Stuarts in Italy."

1798, infirm as well as destitute.* Cardinal Borgia, who had been acquainted in Italy with Sir John Hippisley Coxe, represented to him by letter the royal Cardinal's case.

Sir John Hippisley Coxe reported the Cardinal's destitution to George III. himself. The benevolent old king at once ordered Lord Minto, his Minister at the court of Vienna, to offer the Cardinal, with all possible delicacy, a pension of £4000 for his life. The correspondence which took place on the subject is published at length in the *Annual Register*, 1807. The Hanoverian sovereign paid graceful tribute through his ambassador to the eminent qualities of the august personage who was the object of his "generosity," declaring his wish to repair, as far as he could, the disasters into which the scourge of their age seemed to drag by preference all that was most worthy of reverence and respect. The Cardinal accepted the timely assistance gratefully and graciously, much touched by the "expressions of singular regard and consideration for himself" and the delicacy with which the business was managed.

When the Concordat between Rome and the French Republic was concluded the Cardinal returned to Rome, to end his days in the calm of his beloved Frascati. He was made Dean of the Sacred College, after being one of its most virtuous and disinterested members upwards of sixty years.† He was about the same time made Bishop of Ostia and Velletri.

Cardinal Wiseman writes of him in his "Recollections of the Four Last Popes":

The last of the Stuarts, the amiable and beneficent Cardinal of York, was Bishop of Frascati. He never would exchange his See for those which officially belonged to the Dean and Sub-dean of the Sacred College. Of that prettily situated city, successor of Tusculum, which yet gives the Bishop his title, he is still considered the great benefactor. Whatever else may have been wanting for his title, to a royal heart he was no pretender. His charities were without bounds: poverty and distress were unknown in his See. The episcopal palace was almost, if not entirely rebuilt by him, though he generally resided in a neighbouring villa. The Cathedral was much improved and richly furnished. But the Seminary or Diocesan Ecclesiastical College was the object of his peculiar care. Most of it was built by him, and the library, a most elegant apartment, and rich in many English works, was the fruit of his munificence. Though he was not himself either learned or endowed with

* *Annual Register*, 1807.

† *Ibid.*

great abilities, he knew the value of both, engaged excellent professors for his seminary and brought men of genius round him; hence his college was frequented, not only by aspirants to the clerical state, but by youths of the best families.

The diocese of Frascati was full, when Cardinal Wiseman first knew it, of recollections of the Cardinal Duke, all demonstrative of his singular goodness and simplicity of character.

His munificence was extended to other objects. Being Archpriest of St. Peter's, he presented that Basilica with a splendid gold chalice, encrusted with the jewels of the Sobieski family; and this being still kept in his house when the treasury of the church was plundered, escaped the spoliation, and, till three years ago, was used at the great pontifical celebrations at St. Peter's.

He possessed before 1798 a very valuable collection of curiosities at his villa, where many scarce tracts and interesting manuscripts concerning the unfortunate house of Stuart were among the ornaments of his library. In his will made January 1789, he had left the latter to his relation, Count Stuarton; but they were all in 1798 either plundered by the French and Italian Jacobins at Rome or confiscated by the French Commissaries for the libraries and museums at Paris.

He was a studious and well-informed prince, and a sincerely pious prelate. His purse was always open to suffering humanity, and British travellers particularly, whether ruined by misfortune or imprudence, found in him on all occasions a compassionate benefactor.*

In 1805, he was visited by Lord Cloncurry, who, as a young man, was very much mixed up with the United Irishmen and the leaders of the rising of 1798. It has been said that through Lord Cloncurry, the Cardinal Duke was implicated in the affair of 1798. This is without foundation, for the acquaintance began only in 1805, when Lord Cloncurry was travelling in Italy. He says :

Among the prominent members of Roman society in those days was the last of the Stuarts, Cardinal York, with whom I became somewhat of a favourite, probably by virtue of addressing him as "Majesty." . . . He was waited upon with all suitable ceremony (to royal state) and his equipages were numerous and splendid and freely placed at the disposal of his guests. He was in the habit of receiving visitors very hospitably at his villa at Frascati, where I was often a guest. . . . Upon the occasion

of my visit to Frascati, I presented the Cardinal with a telescope which he seemed to fancy, and received from him in return the large medal struck in honour of his accession to his unsubstantial throne.*

George III.'s son, Augustus, Duke of Sussex, paid him a visit in Rome. It certainly is odd to read that the kingly Cardinal was supposed to be flattered by the title of "Royal Highness" being "generously" accorded to him by the Hanoverian prince. To the grandson of a crowned King of England, surely such title, at the very least, must be due of right, not given in half pitying condescension.

He died at Frascati, full of honour and peace, on July 13, 1807, the anniversary of his translation to that See, aged eighty-two. On the night of the 14th his body was taken to Rome, surrounded by his weeping people, and lay the following days in the hall of the Cancelleria. Funeral services were performed in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle. He was buried in the north aisle of St. Peter's, with his parents. At the same time Charles Edward's body was brought privately from its temporary sepulchre at Frascati, and on the evening of July 16 the royal brothers were laid together:† far from the northern land they loved so well, and where they would so fain have lived and died. Over their grave their cousin George IV. raised the monument so well known to visitors to St. Peter's; a gracious and kindly act enough on the part of one whose pride it was to be esteemed the first gentleman in Europe. The monument, carved by Canova, is tasteless and dismal; the inscription runs:

JACOBUS III., JACOBI II. MAGN: BRIT.; REGIS: FILIO,
CAROLO EDUARDO, ET HENRICO, DECANO
PATRUM CARDINALIUM, JACOBI III. FILIIS;
REGLE STIRPIS STUARDIÆ POSTREMIS
ANNO MDCCCIIX.,
BEATI MORTUI QUI IN DOMINO MORIUNTUR.

To George III., in gracious recognition of the kindness which had provided for the necessities of his old age, he be-

* "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry," Dublin, 1849; in "The Royalist," 1891.

† "Funeral oration on the Death of Henry, Cardinal, called the Duke of York, &c." Notes.

queathed the crown jewels in his possession. Amongst them was the "George" worn on the scaffold by Charles I. and handed by him to Bishop Juxon with the word, "Remember :" also a ring worn by the ancient kings of Scotland on the day of coronation. To the "nearest lawful heir" he bequeathed his dynastic rights. That heir, at the time of his death, was Charles Emmanuel IV. of Savoy, ex-king of Sardinia, eldest direct descendant of Charles I. through his youngest daughter, Henrietta Anne, Duchess of Orleans; now represented by the Archduchess Marie Thérèse of Austria-Este, Duchess of Modena and wife of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria.

An interesting account is given in the *Quarterly* article already quoted of the vicissitudes of the Cardinal's famous and precious papers before the bulk of them was acquired by George IV. by purchase, and the remainder gradually followed them to the royal library at Windsor. A portion of those papers was published during the present reign as the first volume of the whole collection. After that publication, permission to examine farther was withdrawn.

A considerable portion of the Cardinal's real property was in Mexico, and was lost in South American revolutions. It is probable that he survived most of the heirlooms of his house.

His library went to endow his favourite seminary at Frascati; his remaining furniture, plate, and family relics have been gradually absorbed by English collectors at Rome during the last half-century.*

In Frascati Cathedral there is a touching memorial of his faithful love in the shape of a mural tablet to the left of the central doorway, erected by him to the memory of his brother.

In the British Museum may be read the oration preached on July 20, 1807, in that Cathedral by Don Marco Mastrofini, Public Professor of Philosophy, on occasion of the funeral solemnities ordered to be celebrated by the magistrate. There are two excellent portraits, by Pompeo Batrone, of the Duke of York as Cardinal in the National Portrait Gallery, Trafalgar Square.

A. SHIELD.

* *Quarterly Review*, December 1846, "The Stuarts in Italy."

ART. VI.—THE STRATTON CHURCHWARDENS'
ACCOUNTS, 1512-1577.

CHURCHWARDENS' accounts are always interesting; they show us a side of the life led by our forefathers, of which we get no other glimpse; then they are somewhat rare also, and we can only guess from those that have been preserved what an amount of knowledge has been lost to us by the destruction of these old inventories of church goods, for such they practically were.

They give the current price of many articles that we do not find in any other documents, and it is curious to note in Churchwardens' accounts of the same date, but in different parts of the country, how the prices vary. We who are accustomed to an almost uniform scale all over the country can scarcely realise that during certain periods of the Middle Ages there might be scarcity that almost amounted to famine in a neighbourhood, while thirty or forty miles off there was plenty of the article to be obtained.

This, and many other things of a similar nature, are depicted in many of these old account books.* But they are not all of equal value and interest; so much depended upon the men who set down the various items. In some cases they put only what was absolutely necessary; in others they enlarged to some extent upon whatever they might have to enter in the account, and it is these quaint additions which are so valuable to us now.

One of the best and fullest of these books that I have ever seen are the Churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Stratton, in Cornwall. Some years ago a complete transcript was made of them by Mr. Edward Peacock, and he contributed extracts from them to the Society of Antiquaries. These extracts the society published * and this paper is the only thing that has ever seen the light relating to these most interesting series of accounts. Stratton is an ancient market town. It is

* "On the Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Stratton, in the County of Cornwall" ("The Archaeologia," vol. xlii. Edward Peacock, F.S.A.).

situated in the hundred of the same name, and lies upon the Roman highway. The Atlantic washes the western boundary of the parish. There is mention made of it in Domesday, and it was amongst the Manors given to Robert, Earl of Cornwall, by his mighty half brother, the Conqueror. The Church is dedicated to St. Andrew. The accounts are entered in a foolscap folio volume ; the binding is of limp parchment. Many of these inventories have nothing in the way of a title page, but the Stratton volume is richer in this respect, for it possesses a very good title page, which is as follows :

THE COUNTE BOKE
OF
THE HYE CROSSE WARDENYS OF STRATTON.
a° dñi
m° cccccxij.

THE first entry is in 1512, the last in 1577, so that they cover a comparatively short space of time. I have seen churchwardens' accounts which begin earlier, and which extend into the seventeenth century. A strange thing about this Stratton book is the fact that none of it is in Latin. Usually during the early part of the sixteenth century we find the entries either all in Latin, or in a curious mixture of that tongue and English, with the occasional use of a French word, but here they were kept solely in English, so far back as we have any trace of them ; and there is no admixture of the Cornish language to be met with. It may be that the priests kept these accounts and regarded the native tongue as unfitting to be used ; but whatever the reason was the rule seems to have been carried out most thoroughly.

So far as can be gathered there was nothing in the nature of a legal tax connected with the Church ever in force in this parish ; we find no traces of a Church rate ; all contributions seem to have been purely voluntary, excepting the charges that were made for burials in the Church and the putting of names upon the bede-roll.

Burial in the open ground of the churchyard was in nearly every parish in England free, but not so interments within the churches.

I believe every parish of which the records remain to us

show that it was customary to make a charge for these burials, and the necessity for this is clear; had everyone been allowed, free of cost, to sepulchre their dead in the churches, there would very soon have been no space left, and besides the sanitary condition of the buildings would have quickly become such that it would have been impossible to use them for the services of the Church.

As it was those conditions must have been far from healthy, though no doubt at the period to which the accounts relate all bodies were buried in lead; but even under the most favourable circumstances churches in the Middle Ages became vast charnel houses.

The charge for burial in the church varied in different places, but at Stratton it was three shillings and fourpence, and this seems to have been a very usual amount all over the country, for we find from the accounts that this was the sum paid at Kirton-in-Lindsey, in Lincolnshire, from 1534 to 1682, and it also was the fee at Wilton-le-Wear, Durham, in 1723.*

The bede-roll was a list of names which contained alike those of the living and of the dead; for a certain fee anyone might place whatever names he liked on this roll, and they became entitled to the benefits from all masses said for, or prayers offered for, any one on the roll.

How often the names on the roll were recited we do not know, but it would certainly be read over on All Saints' Day, and most likely at other times set more especially apart for praying for those who were no longer of this world. Though the names of living people might be placed on the list, yet its primary cause of existence was to serve as a means of recording the names of the dead for whom the living wished especial prayers to be offered.

In many cases, no doubt, the names of living people were put on it by those who loved them, and who had no other means by which they could in any way show their desire to do all or anything that lay within their power to ensure the well being here and hereafter of the person loved.

There were also fees for certain bell-ringings, for the lending, or rather letting out to hire of funeral vestments, church ales,

* "Archæologia Aeliana," vol. xvii. p. 81.

and things too numerous to mention, but they were not compulsory; no one need attend the ales, have the bells rung, or in any way become subject to these charges unless they desired to do so.

The spelling that we find in these accounts is that ordinarily in use in the neighbourhood at the time, and as is usually the case, the same words are found to vary much in this respect, within a few lines of each other; and so strange are the forms that they assume, that only those persons who are accustomed to do so can read them fluently, though any educated person could make them out by taking a little trouble.

In 1512 we find an entry relating to wax, an article which in pre-Reformation times was consumed in enormous quantities in all churches.

payd to John wolfe for vij pownde of wex a gens ester iiijs. viijd.

and the following line runs,

payd for makkyng of the same wex to Wylliam Gyste iiijd.

Wax was usually bought by the pound, and then fashioned into candles for the use of the church. Sometimes these candles were merely kept for the use of the church alone, either to light the building, or to burn ritually; but very often the churchwardens laid in a larger stock of wax, which was made into candles of various sizes, and then they were sold at a profit to such persons as wished to purchase candles to burn before shrines or images, the money thus obtained belonging to the churchwardens for the use of the church, not to themselves privately.

The following items, in the same year, show that vestments and altar cloths had to be solemnly blessed before they were regarded as meet for the use of the church.

payd for a yerd of bokeram to make iij new Stolys vijd.

paid to moses Taylour for makkyng of iij new stoles mete and drynk & hyre iiij.

paid for thred jd.

paid for the blesyng of Vawter clothys and iij new stolys xxijd.

No doubt the altar cloths were given, as there is no charge either for buying them, or for materials of which to make

them, and we know that they were very commonly presented to churches.

In the following year, 1513, there is an entry relating to the "bede-roll":

rec. of Johanna paynter for ij namys which be set a pone the bedroll xs.
And again in 1515 we find,

rec. of Johanna Jeoll to putt her hosbound apond the bed roll iijs. iiiij.

There are constant entries for payments for repairing vestments, windows, the framework of the bells, and numberless other things of a like kind.

One of these, in 1518, is rather interesting:

payd to the bucke bender iijs. iiijd.

One is anxious to know what were these books that required to be bound; there must have been more than one, from the amount charged.

Some kinds of work seem to have been very poorly compensated, even when allowance has been made for the value of money at that date. In 1522 we find,

paid to Johanna morton for mendyng of ij surples jd.

At times items seem to be left and entered at a later date, for in 1523 there is

payd for expenses to my lord Bysshep* ys visitacion ijs od.

and in the following line appears

paid for expenses at the last visitacon at launceston xijd.

It is amusing to note the various ways in which the sixteenth century scribes managed to spell the word Bishop. In 1515 it is boshopp; 1526, besshepp; 1531, beschepp; 1538, Bysshepp; 1556, byshoppes; and in 1559, boshypes.

Visitation, too, is spelt in quite as many different ways, and it would be very interesting to take half a dozen words from any churchwarden's accounts, note the various manner in which they are spelt and the dates, and then compare them with

* John Vesey, alias Hardman, consecrated Bishop of Exeter, Nov. 6, 1519. Resigned the see August 1551 (Hardy's *Le Neve, "Fasti Eccl. Anglic." i. 377.*)

similar accounts in other parts of the country; thus at a glance we should see the different class of spelling prevalent, say, in Cornwall, Yorkshire, and the Midland counties at a given date.

There is an entry in 1526 which shows that payments were not always made in money :

rec. of Mr. Harry Raynoe for a buck of pricksong for a grave iijs. iiiij.

This means that instead of paying the fee for burial within the church that a music-book was presented as an offering in its place. No doubt this book was worth far more than the regulation charge, and would therefore be gladly accepted. In the same year we find mention made of the organ, a charge of two-pence for glue for some repairs to it that seem to have been made, and, as is almost always the case, it is spoken of in the plural as "organs." In 1527 there seems to have been a considerable amount of vestments and things of a similar nature that required mending; we find that the following sums were paid :

for di yerd of satyn of burges* for the vest ments xijd.

paid to Mystares Grenfyld for rebens of sylk for to mend the Vest ments xvijd.

paid to the said Mystares Grenfyld for bradny † gold vjd.

paid to John peres for mendyng of the vestmenttes vs.

The amount expended shows that materials were only bought to repair the vestments, not to make new ones; in that case the sum laid out would have been much more.

In 1528 there is

payd for canvass to amend the cope iiijd.

and immediately below it

for mending of the cope ijs.

This must have been the lining that was in need of restoration, for canvas is not a material suitable for forming the outer side of such a vestment as a cope.

* This material took its name from Bruges, in Flanders, where it was made.

† This was gold thread used for embroidery.

In 1530 occurs an entry which shows that the custom of strewing the floor of the church with rushes was practised at Stratton. It is found in nearly all these inventories.

payd to Elysander penvos for russhys by the yere vjd.

At Clee, a village in Lincolnshire, not far from Grimsby, the authorities of the parish formerly possessed the right of cutting rushes from a piece of land, named Bescars, to strew upon the floor of the church every Trinity Sunday.*

It is said when Charles II. attended church at St. Helier, in February, 1649, the aisles were strewn with green rushes; and even at the present day the hall of the Trinity House at Hull is thus covered. It does not seem quite clear whether Elysander Penvos had to supply the rushes, or whether it was merely his duty to see they were renewed in the church at proper times and the old ones taken away; and we are the more uncertain upon the point because in 1531 we find

paid for a pac of ruseys agenst master chamys weddynge —

The amount is left blank, and there are several other items of the same kind, as in 1541, where it is recorded

paid to John maior for a trusse of Russhes agenst Mr Arundell ys dafter was marryed iiijd.

These seem to imply that the yearly payment was for the rushes themselves, and not for spreading them upon the floor of the church, and that this payment only included what was needed for the ordinary requirements of the church, and that if for any reason it was considered necessary to use more than the stated amount, or to strew them freshly in honour of any especial event, that there was an extra charge for them.

We find in these accounts, as in most others, that there were frequent gifts of vestments made to the church, and in 1540, only seven years before the death of Henry VIII. there is an entry, which viewed by the light of the knowledge we possess is a most curious and strange item, perhaps in one way the most interesting in the book.

* H. Edwards, "Old English Customs," p. 218.

paid for the blesyng of the sute of vestments that Mr. Thomas arundell gave to the church xvjd.

For carriage of the same frome Exeter iiijd.

Most likely this account for carriage means that they had been sent or taken to Exeter in order that the Bishop might bless them, it being the custom to send any article that required the episcopal benediction to the residence of the prelate; but of course in the present case this is merely conjecture; the vestments may have been made at Exeter and sent from thence to Stratton when finished.

In 1544 the church received a gift of plate—

rec. of Wylliam Call for vj sponys of syluer of the gyft of Xpian vglow xxvjs. viijd.

Were these Apostle spoons, we wonder. It is very likely that they may have been, but there is no means of discovering what they were like. If they were the Apostles, there was only half a set given; but we gather from the context that they were probably a testamentary bequest, and that Wylliam Call was in all likelihood the executor under a will.

In 1547 there is one line in the accounts that meant much more than the writer had any idea of—

payd for rynging of the Kynges knyall vd.*

That knell was heard all over the civilised world, and even yet its echoes have not died completely away. We have no doubt that at Stratton, as at other places, the bell would be tolled as soon as the news of the royal death reached the village, but how long that might be after the event had taken place we cannot say. The affection of the people of Devon and Cornwall for the Church was very strong, and in all likelihood most of those who heard the bell at Stratton boom out on that winter's day could only regard Henry as one who had despoiled their Church of things which they revered. We have a proof that there was a strong feeling in favour of the ancient mode of conducting the services, for in 1549 we find—

* Henry VIII. died on Jan. 28, 1547.

paid for taking downe of the Rode & the pagentes yn the Rodeloft & setting vp the Rode agen xd.

The rods had been taken down by a supreme exercise of the royal authority, but in the June of this year the Devonshire rebellion broke out, and it seems as if those in whom the authority at Stratton was vested believed that better days for the Church were dawning, and that they at once seized what they considered so favourable a chance of replacing the rood. If this were so what a bitter disappointment was before them! But as will be shown later they kept the rood in its place for a much longer period than was usual in most other parts of England. In the same year, but later, we find yet another indication of the changes that were taking place:

paid to John Trevelyan for iij new bockes noted for matens & even song & matens yn ynglyssh xvjd.

Evidently the churchwardens thought it worthy of being recorded that the new service books were printed in the vulgar tongue; we can have but little conception of the change that this alone must have seemed to a people who were accustomed to hear the services of the church rendered in Latin. In July 1553 the boy king, Edward VI., died, and there occurs the same words in commemoration of it as were used about his father. The spelling is varied, but the entry for father and son are alike—

for the Ryngyn off Kynges Knynle iij.

evidently the scribe has dropped out "the" before the word king.

The Church at Stratton being dedicated to St. Andrew, naturally there was an image of him there, and the very year that Elizabeth came to the throne the Churchwardens seem to have decided that it needed repainting, and accordingly in 1558 there is :

For pentyn of Synt Andrew iijs. ijd.

This seems a somewhat high charge for merely painting what was most likely a wooden figure; but we have no means of knowing what the size of it was, or whether there was

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gilding used upon any portion of it. If it were so, that would add considerably to the cost.

In 1565 mention is made of a custom which lasted in some places until the middle of the eighteenth century :

Rec. of Rycherd mark for dewyn of Woll yn the church howsse iiijd.

The church house was a building that was often erected near to, or upon, land in the possession of the Church ; it was not usually occupied, but was used at the Church Ales ; that is, when the churchwardens brewed ale for the benefit of the church revenues it was sold and drunk there ; also at certain times it was let, such as at fairs or feasts. These church houses were not to be found in every parish, but they were very common. On the occasion referred to the Stratton Church House had evidently been let to store wool in, and there are instances to be met with of wool being stored in the church itself. Joseph Shute, Rector of Meavy, Devon, in the time of Charles I., is said to have stored wool in the church tower.* The latest instance that I am aware of occurred in the case of my great grandfather's grandfather, Edward Peacock, of Bottesford, Lincolnshire, who, during the latter part of the reign of George II., used to store his wool in the nave of Bottesford Church. I have never been able to ascertain by what supposed right he did so ; he was not the lay rector, and though he was the lord of the manor that gave no right of this kind. Most likely he did what his forefathers had been accustomed to do. The nave of the church is large, there was room for the wool and the congregation, and in the state of feeling then prevalent no one would see anything profane or disrespectful in so doing, and it would be no one's business to interfere.

There was a curious payment made at Stratton in 1570, and I do not remember ever seeing a similar one, though doubtless they occur :

Paid for mendyng of John Judes bybell which he lonyed to the churche when the other was to bynd iiijd.

* Walker, "Sufferings of the Clergy," vol. ii. p. 355.

We usually regard the word "loaned," when used in the sense of lent, as of American origin, but like so many other words it seems from this use of it here that it was good provincial English in the seventeenth century.

The rood loft was taken down at Stratton for the last time in 1573, and we cannot help wondering whether it was then regretted as it seems to have been some years previously :

Paid ij men to tak down the Rowd loft mett and hyre xd.

I do not pretend to have given anything like an exhaustive description of the Stratton Churchwardens' accounts, but I have said enough to show how full of interest and information they are. Every entry teaches us something regarding the life led by our forefathers, either from a religious or social aspect.

In the various extracts the original spelling is strictly followed, excepting in the case of one word. "The" is very frequently written with the thorn, that is a letter which was formerly used to represent the sound of th. I have thought it better not to reproduce this on account of its being somewhat difficult to read to persons who are not accustomed to it.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. VII.—TWO ENGLISH SCHOLARS AND
THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
IN LOUVAIN.

IT ought not to be necessary to plead before an audience of Catholic theologians the great importance of Oriental studies in the cause of theology and apologetic. The value of Semitic languages for Scriptural exegesis has been an admitted fact in all ages from St. Jerome downwards. But exegesis is only one of the many points—vital points all of them—where Oriental science touches the domain of theology. In the century of Strauss, Renan, and Kuenen, and—*sed longo intervallo*—of popular writers like Mrs. Humphrey Ward and the late Professor Huxley, the very fundamental bases of “the Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture,” to borrow Mr. Gladstone’s phrase, suffer attacks from the side of a newer kind of Orientalism, and require us to call in for our defence not merely the “higher criticism” of the more familiar Semitic tongues, but also the results of those eminently nineteenth century developments, Assyriology and Egyptology. Nor is this by any means all. The century of Max Müller, Tiele, de Gubernatis, and Sir Edwin Arnold has developed yet new and perhaps more insidious methods of attack not on Christianity only, but on all the history of revelation, from the side of the new science of “Comparative Mythology” and the “History of Religions.” In the teaching of those sciences both the religion of the Old Testament and the Christianity of the New are supposed to find their place as merely some out of the many phases of a mental and spiritual evolution, which begins in a primitive animism and fetish worship, to end in the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistles of St. Paul; and in which Yahvē and Christ hold a place with exactly the same rights as Obatala, Thoth, Varuna, or Heraklēs. It would, perhaps, be difficult to indicate any other field of research on which it is more urgent for Catholic scholars to employ their talents and energy than that of the “Comparative History of Religions,” with its concomitant branches, such as Mythology

and Folklore. But all this means a wide and thorough study of various departments of Orientalism. And what we want is an army of specialists in each of these branches.

These general remarks may serve to introduce and explain the appearance of the following historical sketch of the Oriental teachers and schools of Louvain. Among Catholic centres of learning, the Belgian University has always held an honourable place for its cultivation of such branches of Orientalism as have been of importance at different epochs. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the *Alma Mater* was publishing Hebrew Grammars and Commentaries on *Ecclesiastes*; in the nineteenth she is translating the "Avesta," commenting the "Vedas," and solving for the first time in literary history the riddles of the "Yih-King." I venture to think that the work she has done and is doing will be found no mean contribution to the advance of Christian learning.

It may be well here to point out that the history of Louvain falls into two quite distinct periods, the old and the new. The old University, entirely mediæval in form and constitution, founded by Pope Martin V. and Duke John the Good of Burgundy, in 1426, was brought to a violent end by the French Revolutionary invasion and the decree of suppression of October 27, 1797. In the interval of thirty-seven years which elapsed, an attempt was made, it is true, by the Dutch rulers of Belgium to revive a University, governmental in character, in the old city, but the attempt was a failure (1817-34). It was in 1834 that the Catholic Church, by the hands of the Belgian hierarchy, modestly began a revival of the old *Alma Mater*—for a few months in Mechlin, and then in Louvain itself, and with such happy success, that the eighty-six students of the first year have grown to over 1700 at the present moment, with all the modern equipment, especially in the domains of Natural and Applied Science, of a great European seat of learning.

For old Louvain, I have had little more to do than condense the elaborate history of its Oriental teachers contained in the exhaustive monograph of the venerable Orientalist of the present *Alma Mater*, the late Professor Félix Nève, entitled "Mémoire Historique et Littéraire sur le Collège des Trois Langues à l'Université de Louvain," which was crowned by the Royal

Academy of Belgium in 1856 (Bruxelles, Hayez, 1856, 4to, pp. xviii. and 425 *). For the earlier part, of course, I have also used Valerius Andreas' "Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis" (Lovanii, 1650). For the Orientalists of modern Louvain, of whom I hope to be allowed to treat in a later article, I have been able to compile my account chiefly from personal knowledge of the men and their works, and from materials kindly supplied me by the former themselves. It is a pleasure to be able to offer this chapter of hitherto unwritten literary history as a small but sincere tribute of respect and affection to old masters and fellow-students at the venerable Catholic *Alma Mater*.

I.

Orientalism among Catholic Scholars before the "Reformation."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Hebrew and Rabbinical studies began to penetrate from the Jewish to the Christian schools. Up to this date, during the course of the Middle Ages, there were but a few isolated scholars who ventured into the study of Hebrew, and of these most were actually converted Jews. There were serious difficulties which met the first students of Hebrew. One was that it was necessary to take lessons from Jewish rabbis, who exacted a great price for their teaching. Moreover, such a proceeding too often exposed the student to serious suspicions concerning orthodoxy on the part of his fellow Christians. Lastly, there was the great dearth of books and texts.

Notwithstanding such drawbacks, there is plenty of evidence to show that Catholics cultivated Hebrew and even its kindred tongues before the so-called Reformation. A well-known instance is that of Pico della Mirandola (1463-94), whose acquaintance extended to Arabic and Chaldaic, besides Hebrew. Reuchlin (1455-1522) published his "Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae" in 1506; and when his frequent intercourse with Jewish rabbis and his resistance to the decree for burning all the rabbinical books of a converted Jew got him into serious suspicion of heterodoxy and prosecution on part of the Inquisition, he owed his protection to Leo X. Spite of his persecu-

* Tome XXVIII. "Des Mémoires Couronnés," &c.

tion, he resisted the overtures of Luther. Elias Levita, "the last and most celebrated of the native (Jewish) grammarians" (1470-1549), had Cardinal Egidio for his pupil and patron at Rome. The great Polyglot of Jimenes (Ximenes) was published between 1514-17, and contains the Hebrew and Chaldee texts of the various parts of the Old Testament. The still superior Antwerp Polyglot, published by Plantin under the auspices of Philip II. (1569-72) contains in addition the Syriac version of the New Testament.

Long before the above writers, Nicolaus de Lyra, a converted Jew (died 1340), had published his "Postilla Perpetua in *Biblia Universa*," which were found so useful by Luther.*

II.

The Beginnings of Orientalism at Louvain.

The earliest beginnings of Orientalism at Louvain carry us back to nearly a century before the Antwerp polyglot above alluded to. And curious to say, it is not in the professional chair or the lecture-room that we come across these beginnings, but in the printers' office. Louvain has all along been well equipped with an Oriental press, never so well as at the present day, with its double set of founts, owing respectively to Beelen and de Harlez, of which we shall speak later. The remote ancestor of this press must have existed there almost at the time when Luther was born (1483); for in the year 1488 there was issued a quarto volume, entitled "Epistola Apologetica Magistri Pauli de Middleburgo ad Doctores Lovanienses," which is stated to be printed in *Alma Universitate Lovaniensi, per Joannem de Westphalia*. Now, the curious fact is that "the Hebrew quotations of this book are printed in characters of a massive form and German cut, whilst the Greek passages are written by hand" (Nève). Evidently, then, there was in the *Alma Mater* a fount of Hebrew type, even before one of Greek characters. It is easy to suppose who brought it. This John of Westphalia (he died, by the way, next year, 1489), was John Wesel or Wessel, of Gröningen in Westphalia, brought up at Zwolle under the influence of Thomas à

* For much of the above, see Gesenius, "Geschichte der Hebräischen Schrift und Sprache." Leipzig. 1815.

Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life.* "In the course of his wanderings, he made a long sojourn at Louvain, and must have taught Hebrew there, as he did in other cities he visited—Cologne, Heidelberg, Paris, Rome and Basel,"† J. Wessel, then, would appear from this to merit the honour of having been both the first teacher of Hebrew and the first printer of Hebrew at Louvain.‡

It is probable that in 1506, the press of Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis (Thierry Martens, of Alost), issued a "Dictionarium Hebraicum sive Enchiridion Radicum seu Dictionum Hebraicarum ex Joanne Reuchlino," a quarto without name of author or year. This Martens had printed at Louvain up to 1501 in partnership with Hermann of Nassau.

Ten years later, the first step was taken towards the foundation of the first real Oriental school of Louvain.

The Trilingual College.—*Mathanus Hadrianus.*—In 1516 Erasmus came to Flanders, and the same year was inscribed in the matriculum of the university, bringing with him his doctor of theology's degree from Padua. "Vivo," he writes next year to Pirckheimer, "versorque Lovanii; cooptatus in consortium Theologorum, licet in hac Academia non sim insignitus titulo doctoris." Indeed, as Valerius Andreas tells us,§ he has engaged in perpetual squabbles with these same theologians. However, he did one good thing for them: he brought about the establishment of their first chair for Hebrew. The very year of his arrival, 1516, he wrote to invite over from Germany MATTHÆUS ADRIANUS (Erasm. "Epist." lit. iii. ep. 39, "Opera," t. iii. 353). This man was a converted Jew of Spanish origin (born between 1470 and 1480). At Heidelberg he had proceeded to the degree of doctor in medicine, and was there teaching Hebrew. Erasmus in the

* He remained a staunch Catholic, and is not to be confounded with John Wesel of Oberwesel, who fell away from the Church, and died 1481, a prisoner of the Inquisition.

† See Hetzel's "Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Litteratur," p. 135. Halle. 1776.

‡ Or were the printer and the Hebrew scholar different persons? This would seem to follow from a paper of Ed. van Even in the "Dietsche Warande," vol. iii. (N. S.), p. 167, for the year 1890, when he records a printer, John of Westphalia, who, born at Aken, near Paderborn, settled at Louvain in 1474, and worked there till 1496. (Postscript to Frank's paper "De Boekdrukkunst en de Geestelijkhed tot 1520.")

§ "Fasti Academicí Studií Generalis Lovaniensis," p. 85. (Lovanii, 1650.)

above quoted letter, recommended him to *Ægidius Buslidius* (Giles Busleiden), for the new "Trilingual College" just founded by the will of his distinguished brother Jerome.

Here we must turn back a moment to say a word of this celebrated college of the three languages ("des Trois Langues"). Jerome Busleiden was a wealthy and enlightened ecclesiastic who had held high offices in Church and State.* His love of learning induced him to leave all his property to found a college at Louvain for the special study of the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There were to be burses for the support of the three professors and ten students. They were to devote themselves to the study of grammar and philosophy "up to the degree of master," and were to learn also the rudiments of Greek and Hebrew. The idea was entirely new. It excited dreadful scandal and opposition among the old-fashioned fogies of the university. It was decried as "heretical" and what-not. Erasmus fought hard for it; but there was every chance of this "unicum nostræ regionis, imo totius Caesareæ ditionis ornamentum," as Valerius Andreas styles it,† coming to an untimely end, but for the interposition of Cardinal Adrian, an old Louvain student and professor, soon after (1522) to ascend the Throne of Peter as Pope Adrian VI. He summed up the whole matter in a very simple, if somewhat obvious, "oracle," as Valerius Andreas calls it: "Bonas litteras non damno, haereses et schismata damno."‡ The college was therefore opened—near the fish market—and the academical historian boasts with reason that "this praise is due to our Busleiden: he was the first in Christendom to establish a Trilingual College, though his example was followed by others afterwards, as Francis I.,

* Jerome Busleiden was the esteemed friend of the great English Chancellor and Martyr, Blessed Thomas More, who wrote three elegant little Latin poems in his honour, published in his "Epigrammata," to be found in several editions of his works. They are given in full by Nève, Appendix C. (pp. 384-5).

† "Fasti Academicæ," p. 277.

‡ Adriannus Florentius, or Adrian Dedel, of Utrecht, had a natural attachment to the cause of literature. He studied and took his M.A. in the "Pig" College, afterwards taught philosophy in the "Falcon" College, represented the Faculty of Arts in the University Council, and took his D.D. in 1491, all his expenses being supplied by Margaret, daughter of the King of England, [no; daughter of Richard, Duke of York, and sister of Edward IV. and Richard III.] widow of Charles the Bold."—Val. And. *ut sup.*

King of France, in Paris, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, at Oxford ; * Francis, Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, at Alcalá," &c.

We have above said that Erasmus got the Chair of Hebrew for Matthæus Adrianus, who accordingly gave his first lesson in the new college on September 1, 1518. In 1519 the Faculty of Arts consented to the "aggregation" to itself of this "Collegium Trilingue."

It is noteworthy that the first regular teaching of an Oriental language at Louvain began under the auspices of the Faculty of Arts, and not of that of Theology. This is a fact of some significance. It indicates, on the one hand, that the study of Hebrew and its kindred tongues was not looked upon at Louvain merely as an appendage to the exegesis of Holy Writ, which has been so long a popular impression among Catholics, but that it had another and independent basis to stand upon—viz., that of a philological branch of learning, and, on the other hand, it indicates the strength and the breadth of the spirit of the "new learning," the humanitarian learning, which Erasmus did so much to foster at Louvain as at Oxford and Cambridge. The position thus assigned to Oriental studies has been maintained ; and whilst at all times they have been largely drawn upon at Louvain to strengthen and elucidate exegetical and theological studies, they have always enjoyed, over and above, a position of their own as philological disciplines.

Matthæus Adrianus does not seem to have got on very well in his new home. He complained that he lived there "for two years without resources." As a matter of fact, he taught for only a year and three months. In July 1519 he resigned his chair, and in the December of the same year he went off to Wittemberg. "Conductus est Hadrianus, professor Lovaniensis," writes Melancthon to Langius next year, 1520, "qui apud nos Hebraica doceat."

We do not know much more of this primeval ancestor (in the academic sense) of Mgr. Lamy. Did he become a Lutheran, as Paquot says ? Where did he die ?

* *I.e.*, Corpus Christi, 1516-7. Fox compared his college to a beehive, and called his three professors "three gardeners." See A. Zimmermann, S.J., "Die Universitäten Englands im 16 Jahrhundert," pp. 16-18 (Freiburg, Herder, 1889).

His Oriental works were not numerous. We know only of (1) "Introductio Brevis in Linguam Hebraicam," 8vo., no date; also (2) "Oratinculæ tres: Dominica, Salutatio Angelica et Salve Regina hebraice redditæ," 4to. both published by Gryphius at Lyons.

As to his abilities, we have a glowing eulogy pronounced upon him by Erasmus, in the already quoted epistle to Busleiden. He speaks of him as "so learned in the whole Hebrew literature that, in my opinion, there has not been any other in this age to compare with him. He is not only a perfect master of the language, but is so familiar with the most abstruse parts (*adyta*) of the authors, that he has all their books at his fingers' ends," ("ac libros omnes sic habet in promptu ut digitos unquesque suos.")

Two Englishmen at Louvain.—It is an interesting fact that the two occupants of the newly-founded chair of Hebrew who immediately succeeded Adrianus were both Englishmen, and connected with the national English universities. Upon the withdrawal of Adrianus, the vacant professorship was conferred upon ROBERT WAKEFIELD. This person was a North of England man, possibly a native of Yorkshire. He had been educated in his youth at Cambridge, where he had studied arts, philosophy, and theology. Afterwards he, like so many other scholars in the Middle Ages, went abroad to various seats of learning; but in his case it was a particular taste for Oriental languages that was the moving power. It is said that he had mastered Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.

Very short, however, was his stay at Louvain, for he occupied the Hebrew Chair only four months—August to December 1519. The next place we find him at is Tübingen, when in 1522 we find he succeeded the very celebrated Orientalist, Reuchlin; but he did not stay there long, either, in spite of the efforts of Duke Ferdinand of Wirtemberg to keep him. He seems to have been of a roving disposition.

A word may be said of his subsequent career, which is not very creditable. In 1524 he was back in Cambridge, and his Oriental and Biblical learning soon brought him into the notice and favour of Henry VIII., to whom he became chaplain (*a sacris*). Later on he taught at Oxford. It is regrettable to record that he strenuously supported the King in the divorce case, writing a work in favour of it ("Kotser Codicis," London, 1528); and

took an active part in the suppression of the monasteries. Indeed, he was supposed to have plundered the library of Ramsgate, and carried off, among other tomes, for his own use, the Hebrew dictionary of Laurentius Holbeccius. F. Zimmermann speaks of him as though he had remained staunch to the Old Church, like his brother Thomas, the first public professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.* But at least his books were suspected of dogmatic errors, and his conduct we have already seen.

He died in London in 1537 or 1538. Of his writings we may record the following :

(1) "Oratio de Laudibus et Utilitate trium Linguarum Arabice, Chaldaice et Hebraice, atque Idiomatibus Hebraicis quæ in utroque Testamento inveniuntur." 4to. Cantab. 1524. (This was his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, and Nève says of it, "An interest of novelty must no doubt have attached in his days to his comparison of the three languages.")

(2) "Paraphrasis in librum Koheleth (vulgo Ecclesiasten) succincta clara atque fidelis." 4to. (We shall see further what a favourite study at Louvain was that of Ecclesiastes.)

(3) "Syntagma de Hebreorum codicum incorruptione." 4to. Oxonii. 1552 (posthumous).

We need not mention his theological and canonical writings.

On leaving Louvain, Wakefield recommended a fellow-countryman, ROBERT SHIRWOOD, to succeed him. This person was a native of Coventry, and had studied at Oxford. His career at Louvain is summed up by Valerius Andreas in a single sentence : "Post mensem unum professionem inglorius deseruit." We know nothing of his subsequent life, except that he probably lived on for several years in Belgium, though he does not seem (in spite of Pitseus) to have taught again at Louvain. As an author he was "a man of one book," viz., "Ecclesiastes Latine ad veritatem Hebraicam recognitus, cum nonnullis annotationibus Chaldaicis et quorundam Rabbinorum sententiis." 4to. Antverpiæ: Vorstman. 1523.

It is noteworthy that, like his predecessor and successor, he chose the Book of the Preacher for commentary. His work[†] attained a certain celebrity, so that it merited to be inserted by

* "Univ. Eng. in 16ten Jahrh," p. 124.

† Dedicated to Abbot John Webb of Coventry.

Pineda in his great "Commentary on Ecclesiastes," published at Seville a century later.

Thus, the close of 1519 saw the new Hebrew Chair vacant yet again, three resignations having taken place in one year! It is also remarkable that the three first Orientalist professors of Louvain were foreigners; on which Nève observes that the circumstance indicates "at least the fraternity and free relations existing between the great European seats of learning in the Middle Ages."

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. VIII.—A HANDFUL OF IRISH BOOKS.

The Story of Early Gaelic Literature. *Hero Tales of Ireland.*
The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling. *Tales of the Irish Fairies.* *The Irish Song-Book.* *A Parish Providence.*
Castle Rackrent.

NOBODY can have failed to notice what has been called “the present rage for Scotch stories.” A rage for Irish “stories” has not yet set in—meanwhile an Irish renaissance is going forward. The *New Irish Library* is one outcome of this circumstance. Perhaps this library has produced no book quite so notable as Dr. Douglas Hyde’s “Story of Early Gaelic Literature.”

It would seem [writes Dr. Hyde in his preface to this work] reserved for this coming century, unless the most vigorous effort of which our race is capable be at once made, to catch the last tones of that beautiful, unmixed Aryan language which, with the exception of that glorious Greek, which has now renewed its youth like the eagle, has left the longest, most luminous, and most consecutive literary track behind it of any of the vernacular tongues of Europe.

In the hundred and odd pages that go to make his brilliant little work, Dr. Hyde tells story upon story. In the very first chapter we are introduced to a prince and a princess, the strange tale concerning whom being rationalised—and the narrator promptly rationalises it, herein following, as he says, O’Curry shows that inscribed tablets in the reign of King Art in the second century had become fastened to each other, so that “they clung inextricably together, and could not be separated.” That pleonasm is Dr. Hyde’s, whose English style is not a little affected by his Gaelic studies. A capital chapter on the early use of letters (*i.e.*, symbols) among the Irish is followed by one on early Irish learning, this being followed by a chapter on some early native poets.

I should be slow [says Dr. Hyde] to absolutely reject the authenticity of a poem simply because the language is more modern than that of the bard to whom it is ascribed could have been, and it seems to me equally

uncritical to either accept or reject much of our earliest poetry, a good deal of which may possibly be the actual (but linguistically modified) work of the supposed authors.

That sentence, to speak in words employed by Dr. Hyde himself, referring to another Irishman, "runs in a very German kind of fashion ;" none the less is its matter admirable, and truly ingenious is the process by which Dr. Hyde manipulates a few lines of the thirteenth century poem, the "Brut" of Layamon, showing how they might become gradually modernised and mangled, while preserved in folk-memory and after having undergone very striking changes might yet remain, to all intents and purposes, lines from the "Brut" of Layamon. Enthusiast as he is, Dr. Hyde will not allow that the condensation which was brought about in Gælic poetry by the necessity of conforming to the most rigid rules of versification, that the alliteration and other *tours de force* which mark ancient Irish poetry all along the line are a blemish. The utmost he will concede is that it is impossible to enjoy this kind of verse in a translation. Those who read his own very clever Englishing of a quatrain (one of many quatrains) in which Queen Mève bewails the death of her husband, Cuchorb, son of Mochorb, will probably be of his opinion in this matter. The quatrain, "done into the exact versification of the original, in which interlinear vowel-rhymes, alliterations, and all the other requirements of the Irish are preserved and marked," runs as follows :

Mochorb's son of Fiercest Fame,
Known his Name for bloody toil,
To his Gory Grave is Gone,
He who Shone o'er shouting Moyle.

There is good head in this, but there is no heart in it. One is glad to come upon prose translations. The following, by O'Donovan, of a part of the first poem which Finn M'Cool is said to have composed after his eating of the salmon of knowledge, contains, as pointed out, some beautiful touches of nature-poetry,

May-day, delightful time ! How beautiful the colour ! The blackbirds sing their full lay. . . . The cuckoos sing in constant strains. How welcome is ever the noble brilliance of the seasons ! On the margin of

the branching woods the summer swallows skim the stream. The swift horses seek the pool. The heath spreads out its long hair. The weak, fair, bog-down grows. Sudden consternation attacks the signs; the planets, in their courses running, exert an influence; the sea is lulled to rest; flowers cover the earth.

This is better than anything of the kind known to me in English literature prior—I had almost dared say—to Wordsworth.

Of the ignorance among the Anglo-Irish of their own literature, a sad tale is told in a footnote. It is this:

When in Trinity College, a few years ago, the subject—the first Irish subject for twenty-seven years—set for the Vice-Chancellor's prize in English verse was Deirdre, it was found that the students did not know what that word meant, or what Deirdre was, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral. So true is it that, despite all the efforts of Davis and his fellows, there are yet two nations in Ireland. Trinity College might to some extent bridge the gap, if she would, but she has not even attempted it.

Some knowledge concerning Deirdre may be gleaned from perusal of chapter vii. of this "Story of Early Gaelic Literature," and almost all knowledge concerning her, howbeit not all, may be gleaned from perusal of another work by Dr. Hyde, to wit, "The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling." In this work we are told in blank verse not of the best, but here and there very readable, the three great stories of Irish antiquity—"Deirdre," "The Children of Lir," and "The Fate of the Children of Tuirean." Till these tales meet with better telling, mayhap from Dr. Hyde himself, all lovers of what is best in Ireland's literature will do well to read them as given here. They are in themselves of such high beauty that even as told in poetry which has too few of the touches dearest prized, they will not fail to give delight. No such stinted praise shall be accorded to Mr. Perceval Graves' delightful Irish song-book, which is now in the second edition. This book opens with Moore's "Erin, the Tear and the Smile in Thine Eye," and, if Moore's songs are to be classed into emeralds and bits of green glass—that happy phrasing is Mr. Graves'—here in the forefront of the collection is an emerald. Every possible song, as described by an Irish songwriter of the past, will here be found within the space of two

hundred pages—the gay, the hopeful, the loving, the sentimental, the lively, the hesitating, the woeful, the despairing, the resolute, the fiery, the variable. When was song gayer than Moore's "To Ladies' Eyes," or than Lysaght's "Kate of Garnavilla?" The hopeful is not so often a feature of Irish song, but there is the right buoyancy in such songs as Moore's "Rich and Rare were the Gems she Wore." Old friends—and new—will be found in this compilation, which has boldly taken to itself the name "The Irish Song Book," and which has bravely made good its claim to be regarded as that.

The folk-lorists of Ireland appear to be as busy as any other of her writers. Two compilations by Mr. Curtin lie before me; one, "Hero Tales of Ireland," the other, "Tales of the Irish Fairies." The "Hero Tales," it is stated, though told in modern speech, relate to heroes and adventures of an ancient time, and contain elements peculiar to early ages of story-telling. The chief actors in most of them are represented as men, but these men, we are asked to believe, are substituted for heroes who were not considered human when the stories were told to Celtic audiences originally. The editor himself considers the hero of the first (and best) story in his collection, the smith Elin Gow, to be the Celtic Vulcan, and the story which tells of him in veritable fairy-tale fashion,* is thus raised to the dignity of myth. Comparisons are not always odious, and the Greek will forgive the Irishman who points out to him the moral superiority of Elin Gow to Vulcan, as the Irishman will forgive the Greek who points out to him the intellectual superiority of Vulcan to Elin Gow. The story which opens these "Hero Tales" is one which ought not only to delight all children, but to find readers of a larger growth, who will read not only what is in the lines of the book, but what is between the lines of it, who will grasp the importance of such facts as this one—that, frequent as are birds and beasts in these tales, they never fill the chief place in any. They figure as minor characters; there is no tale in

* "There was a smith in Cluainete. . . . He was the best man in Erin to make a sword or any weapon of combat. From all parts of Erin, and from other lands also, young princes who were going to seek their fortunes came to him to have him make swords for them. Now what should happen but this?"

which a beast plays—as in the great Teutonic story of Reynard the Fox—the title-rôle. Yet another fact worth perpending is this—the beast which figures most largely in Irish myth is (all cockneys should take note of this) not the pig, but *the cow*. She comes down from the sky, and, alack! goes back to the sky. Is she a cloud, and is all the milk that she gives water? Poor Ireland! She plays the part of a ship; that is to say, an Irishman finds her one day on the brink of the sea. He thinks she is going in, and catches her tail to hold her back. What then?

She swept him along, and went through the ocean, he keeping the grip he had, and she going with such swiftness that he was lying flat on the sea behind her, and she took him with her to Spain.

A journey from Ireland to Spain accomplished by holding on to the tail of a cow: here is a feat which, as far as goes my knowledge of feats, has never been surpassed. Only an Irishman, we Irish will like to think, could have reached Spain in safety by this means, just as only an Irishman would have performed the feat in this book recorded of Shawn Mac-Breogan—"He gave the man a blow between the head and shoulders that put the head a mile from the body," and just as only an Irishman would have given this answer to the man who asked him, "Where are your arms of defence in this great world, Micky Mor?" "I have never wished for a weapon but my own two fists that were born with me."

Brave words! The "Hero Tales" are full of brave words, and, what is better, are full of brave deeds. A book this to give to a boy, to make a man, perhaps a hero, of him. Of a wholly different character is Mr. Curtin's other book, "Tales of the Fairies." We have here stories not only of fairies, but of ghosts. The compiler has taken them down from the lips of the people in South-West Munster, and how daring is sometimes the language which he transmits to print may be seen in such dialogue as this. (John Connors, believed to be dead, comes back to the priest of his native village.) "In the name of God," said the priest, "are you dead or alive?" "I'm alive. Who would kill me?" "God who kills everybody."

The priest is an excellent man, and the Saxon who starts at

this phrasing is the man who has not (as what Saxon man has?) seen into the depths of an Irishman's piety. The tale of John Connors and the fairies—it is, to be more explicit concerning it, the tale of John Connors, the fairies, John Connors' wife, his daughters, his son, the priest and the farmer, and the farmer's servant boy and servant girl, and the doctor—is one of the sweetest and wisest and wittiest tales that were ever told in a dozen pages. All maids and mothers should read it, and no harm will be done, but great good, if here and there a man, especially an Englishman, should read it. It is books like this which cast the whitest, brightest light on that still unsolved enigma, the Irish character.

A wide gulf separates Mr. Curtin's compilations from the singular booklet called "A Parish Providence," in his admirable introduction to which Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, as editor of the New Irish Library, says:

There are stories which move the reader with a silent longing to imitate, if it be possible, the courageous actions or generous sacrifices which they paint; and this story of a "Parish Providence" is, I think such a one. It does not address itself to the passions or to the more passionate sentiments, yet I believe there are few narratives of crime or danger which hold a sympathetic reader so spellbound. A career of personal ambition and self-display seems pitiful beside the picture of practical wisdom and cheerful, silent sacrifice which constitute the life of the country doctor.

When I first read the "Medecin de Campagne" (on which this story is founded), I thought an Irish gentleman could scarcely lay down the book without self-reproach, if he had done nothing to aid his own people by similar counsel or example in a country where discipline and guidance are so painfully needed. Our people are so destitute of practical and technical teaching, that a man here and there who acted in the spirit of the hero of this story might in a brief time change the face of social Ireland to something brighter and better.

To do this, the "man here and there" would, according to Sir Gavan Duffy, foster industries pursued under the domestic-roof, as they exist in Switzerland and Belgium; he would bring the isolated attempts to foster cottage industries into communication with one another; he would make the special products of Dublin as notable as the *objets de Paris*, he would mayhap set up himself as a publisher of Irish stories with Irish illustrations, thus keeping the book-trade at home, and,

like the Chambers of Edinburgh, earning an honourable renown into the bargain; he would—Sir Charles Gavan Duffy leaves no touch out in his description of the “man here and there”—when he rises in the morning be lathered with a brush and shaved with a razor made in Ireland, he would be washed with soap, and would be groomed with a comb made in Ireland. Here were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished for!

Apart from the remarkable introduction to it, “A Parish Providence” is a book worth possessing, though the purchaser of it should be put upon his guard. The title in full of the book is, “A Parish Providence: A Country Tale: By E. M. Lynch.” Now, this work is not a country tale, and it is not by E. M. Lynch. It is, as nearly as it will be defined, a monograph, and it is an adaptation from the French. It deals with a French philanthropist, whose actions are set before us as recorded by himself in conversation with a French officer. “My notion is,” says this man, expressing himself in truly Gallic fashion, “that a man (when he is sure of his listener’s comprehension and sympathy) ought to like to say. ‘I did this, or that!’” Never did any man act more up to his notion than this French philanthropist, all of whose talk is, “I did this—and that.” To his credit it shall be admitted that there is nothing that he did concerning which there might not be said to any one of the listeners, go thou and do likewise. Those who are not so wholly British as to be repelled at the outset by the large use of the first person in this book will read it, if not indeed with equal pleasure and profit, for there is more in it that is good than that is pleasing, yet with great and growing interest. Those who do not fall foul of its dulness—it is sometimes very, very dull—will allow that, apart from its merit viewed as a contribution to political economy, there is in it here and there a quality which marks the writer of it as not without some literary gifts. Here is a picture of a man of the *Grande Armée* making his way along a mountain-road:

The rider seemed to enjoy the landscape without feeling any surprise at its astonishing variety and charm. Napoleon destroyed the capacity for astonishment in his soldiers. A sure sign of the men who fought under the Emperor’s imperishable eagles was their imperturbably calm expression.

That is good, and this (the same man is under consideration) is better. "If his face was carefully studied it would give up its secret of an ardent nature completely under control."

But the best touch in this character-portrait is what follows:

Although he understood military tactics, fencing, and all the secrets of the veterinary art, he might have boasted in many departments of "a great and varied ignorance." He knew, in a vague sort of way, that Cæsar was either a Consul or a Roman Emperor; and that Alexander was either a Macedonian or a Greek; but when historical conversations were carried to any length he limited his share in them to sapient nods and glances.

The style in that is not equal to the matter, which is admirable. The wording is crude and conventional, with the exception of the brilliant phrase in quotation marks. There are, by the way, too many phrases in quotation marks in this work. A sentence that will annoy many is this: "He noticed 'the smoke that so gracefully curled,'" and, by the time that they have somewhat recovered from the vexation which such jargon arouses, they will be angered anew by penny-a-line such as this: "The wine included some fine old Hermitage; and 'the feast of reason and flow [sic] of soul' fitly matched the material part of the repast."

The writer is always best when portrait-painting. The following full-length picture of the philanthropist is one of many pictures similar.

Somerville was of ordinary height, but unusually broad-shouldered and deep-chested. He was wrapt in a great coat which hid much that was characteristic in his figure and gestures; but the shadow and stillness that cloaked his body served only the more powerfully to bring out and emphasise his face. He had something the look of the faun of the classics; the same slightly-arched forehead, full of more or less characteristic prominences; the same short nose, with its cleft point (which is a sign of cleverness); the same high cheek-bones. His lips were full and red, and the mouth had plenty of what painters call "form" in it. The chin was strongly cut. His eyes were brown, and their bright glance was greatly intensified by the pearly brilliancy of the white of his eyes—that sort of eye tells its tale of a nature, once fiery, now curbed. His hair had been black, but was grey; and even his eyebrows were grizzled. There were deep furrows in the face, and many a sign of the very laborious life of the man who works with the brain; such as a skin "marbled" or flushed in patches, and veined in red, too, with a slightly puffed look, here and there.

There is good, bad, and—alas! indifferent in that, but the good is excellent, especially in the opening sentences.

Many *obiter dicta* might be gleaned from this little book, short pithy sayings of the kind that are very helpful to the class of people among whom it will probably circulate most largely, such, to wit, as these:

A woman who reigns in undisputed authority is sure to be always singing.

There is no more trouble in saying a wise word than in talking nonsense.

As for trouble, it is no more trouble to do good than to do harm.

If rogues spent their energies in useful work they would end by being millionaires instead of going to the treadmill.

There is an attraction between the needs we create and the means of satisfying them.

People who have no wants are poor.

A butcher's shop is as sure a sign of intelligence as of prosperity. Whoever works, eats; and whoever eats, thinks.

The element of paradox which will be observed in some of the above *dicta* figures with startling frequency in these pages. It is seen in such wording as this (the speaker alludes to clockmakers, upholsterers, stationers)—“the purveyors of the superfluities that are the necessaries of life.” Some will not like the book less on this account, and one and another will, I think, concede that a remark like the following, put into the lips of the officer, is of the things in literature that are very good:

“Surely, you don't do good that men may pay you the exorbitant interest called gratitude? That's usury!”

A word about the English of Mrs. Lynch. It is not always all that it might be. One who had mastered the chapter on the verb as treated by the best contemporary grammarians, would not be guilty of such wording as this, “After having played, worked and *sang*, his way from one end of Italy to the other.” The punctuation of the book also leaves something to be desired. Meanwhile, with all its faults, it is good enough to deserve a hearty welcome, and it will get this from many. More still will welcome the re-issue of Maria Edgeworth's “Castle Rackrent.” Perhaps there is no surer sign that contemporary novel readers are recovering from what a worthy Scotchman.

has termed "fever on the spirits," and that they are beginning to show again a healthy appetite for what is wholesome, than the republication just now going forward throughout Britain of the works of such writers as Walter Scott, Jane Austen, and Maria Edgeworth. The capital series of Illustrated Standard Novels which Messrs. Macmillan, of London, are now issuing at the popular price of 3s. 6d. is ushered in by Maria Edgeworth's "Castle Rackrent" and the "Absentee," illustrated by Miss Chris. Hammond, and having an introduction by Anne Thackeray Ritchie. The efforts of three ladies were never combined to better purpose. It is needless at this time to praise the delighting wit of a woman than whom even Ireland has scarce produced a wittier, and it is equally needless to enlarge on the taste and tact of Thackeray's daughter, wherefore it only remains to be said that the illustrations with which Miss Chris. Hammond enriches the work here under consideration are wholly worthy of it. A veritable little masterpiece of wit in draughtsmanship is her picture of Miss Nugent enumerating to my lords Colambre and Clonbrony the discarded suitors for the hand of her friend, Miss Broadhurst, the picture subscribed, "First came in, hobbling, rank and gout; next, rank and gaming;" equally admirable, as showing an exquisite appreciation of the Irish author's peculiar vein of humour, some will think the picture dealing with Sir Kit's first walk through his estate with his foreign wife.—"Where are the trees?" said she, "my dear?" "You're blind, my dear," says he. "What are those under your eyes?"

"The trees" which were under the lady's eyes, and behind her insolently held glasses, must be seen in Miss Hammond's drawing for this scene to be grasped in its full humour—and its full pathos. Somewhat more of the talk of the lady, all of whose talk was, according to the indignant servant who treasured it up, "What's this, Sir Kit?" and "What's that, Sir Kit?" is worth transcribing:

"What do you call that, Sir Kit?" said she. "That—that looks like a pile of black bricks, pray, Sir Kit?"

"My turf-stack, my dear," said my master, and bit his lip.

"And what's all that black swamp out yonder, Sir Kit?" says she.

"My bog, my dear," says he, and went on whistling.

"It's a very ugly prospect, my dear," says she.

"You don't see it, my dear," says he, "for we've planted it out. When the trees grow up in summer-time," says he.

"Where are the trees," says she, "my dear?" still looking through her glass.

"You're blind, my dear," says he; "What are these under your eyes?"

"These shrubs?" says she.

"Trees," said he.

"Maybe they are what you call trees in Ireland," said she, "but they are not a yard high, are they?"

"They were planted out but last year, my lady," says I, to soften matters between them, for I saw she was going the way to make his honour mad with her; "they are very well grown for their age, and you'll not see the bog of Allyballycarricko'shaughlin at-all-at-all through the screen, when once the leaves come out. . . . You don't know how many hundred years that same bit of bog has been in the family; we would not part with the bog of Allyballycarricko'shaughlin upon no account at all; it cost the late Sir Murdoch two hundred good pounds to defend his title to it and boundaries against the O'Learys, who cut a road through it."

Now one would have thought this would have been hint enough for my lady, but she fell to laughing like one out of her right mind, and made me say the name of the bog over, for her to get it by heart, a dozen times; then she must ask me how to spell it, and what was the meaning of it in English—Sir Kit standing by, whistling all the while.

Sir Kit standing by, whistling all the while. In the whistling of Sir Kit what ominousness! The story dealing with him and his is saddest reading, despite the open smiles and close smiles running through it. In days in which the sad in art is set at so high a value as it is at present, the work should find no fewer readers on this account.

ELSA D'ESTERRE-KEELING.

Science Notices.

Recent Experiments with Röntgen's Rays.—It may be said without exaggeration that the public interest manifested in the newly discovered radiation is without precedent in the annals of scientific investigation. Not only has the subject absorbed the greater portion of the transactions of the learned societies in all parts of the world, but it has been popularised far and wide in lectures, addresses and demonstrations. The X rays have even found their way into the programme of a London Music Hall.

Three of the most important recent advances in the practical application of the discovery to surgery seem to be, (1) the invention of an instrument by which the shadowgraphs can be made visible to the eye without the intervention of photography; (2) the combination of the fluorescent surface and photographic plate which appears to shorten the necessary time of exposure; (3) Mr. Edison's observation that calcium tungstate, when suitably crystallised, shows fluorescent phenomena under the X rays in a very marked degree.

The cryptoscope of Professor Salvione affords the means of seeing directly the shadow of any substance practically opaque to the Röntgen radiation. The instrument, however, is probably capable of considerable improvement. As it is it consists of a small cardboard tube about eight centimetres high. One end is closed by a sheet of black paper, on which there is a layer of fish glue and calcium sulphide, forming a good phosphorescent surface under the action of the rays. Within the cardboard tube at the other end, where the eye is placed, is a lens, so that a clear image of the phosphorescent surface is given. If an object is placed between the source of the X rays and the paper end of the tube those portions of the objects which intercept the rays will shield some of the surface from the phosphorescent action. Thus dark shadows of such objects as the bones of the hand, coins inside a purse, can be distinctly seen.

With regard to the combination of the photographic plate and fluorescent surface, there is a wide field of research opened out to the student of the X rays. There seems to be conclusive evidence that the time of exposure may be shortened by the use of a suitable fluorescent material applied either in the form of a screen behind the photographic film or introduced into the substance of the film itself.

Professor M. L. Pupin recently brought the subject of the combination before the New York Academy of Sciences, and in his opinion the successful application of the discovery to surgery depends upon a successful solution of the problem of combination. Placing in contact with the photographic plate a fluorescent screen, he has obtained photographs of the hand at a distance of 4 inches from the tube in a few seconds; at the distance of 25 feet in half-an-hour.

Though there is considerable promise of increased efficiency and reduced time of exposure in the combination, there are some workers who record the taking of photographs with short exposures without the use of fluorescent screens. Dr. John Macintyre claims to have photographed the elbow-joint in one and three-quarter minutes some weeks ago, when the working of the tubes was more imperfectly understood than it is now. Since then he has obtained records of metallic objects in half a second, and the bones of the hands in six seconds. With reference to the subject he says: "At present I go while the tube is being exhausted and test the result before it is taken off the pump. When I am examining an object with the screen, or about to photograph, I heat the tube and keep the current passing through until the maximum effect is obtained. I have now seen by this means the different bones of the extremities and joints; moreover I have no difficulty in seeing through the body itself." Still more recently, Dr. Macintyre has achieved fair results with still more rapid exposures, using an ordinary focus tube. One flash of the tube gave a well defined image of metallic objects, and distinct, though faint, image of the bones of the fingers.

Dr. Ferdinando Giazzì, of the Regio Instituto Technico, Perugia, appears to have tested the truth of Mr. Edison's claim of having discovered that calcium tungstate, when suitably crystallised, shows fluorescent phenomena under the action of the X rays in a far more marked degree than barium platino-cyanide. The preparation of the tungstate in the desired form proved no easy task. Dr. Ferdinando Giazzì says that he never dealt with a body so intractable. After many unsuccessful attempts, he adopted the following process in preparing it for surgical purposes: "I treated a dilute aqueous solution of sodium tungstate with a solution of calcium chloride, given to me by my colleague, Professor Corneliani; I thoroughly washed the resulting pure white precipitate, and dried it at a gentle heat in a porcelain capsule. Next I made a small hole in a piece of fresh retort carbon, and filled it with the precipitate, which I fused and boiled by means of a small flame from an oxy-hydrogen blow-pipe. After boiling for some seconds (at a bright white heat), I gradually removed the substance from the hottest parts of the flame, so that solidification

took place only after a few minutes. In this way I obtained five globules of calcium tungstate of the required structure. I powdered them in an iron mortar, and sifted the powder on to a gummed card, which I exposed in the camera to Röntgen rays. The result was most striking ; I saw at once the shadow of the skeleton of my hand more clearly than I ever have with other preparations. A surgeon with this product, good Crooke's tube, a large coil, and an apparatus such as I have arranged, could certainly dispense with the tedious process of photography."

Recent researches of Dr. J. Jolly, Lord Blythswood, Professor O. N. Rood and Mr. Tesla have proved that the Röntgen radiation can be reflected, though it is still debated whether the rays undergo a regular reflection as in the case of light. Dr. Jolly has found that the rays are reflected at the surface of mercury, lead, glass and wood. He enclosed a photographic plate in a light carrier of mill-board, upon the outside of which a copper ring was attached ; this he exposed in the geometrical shadow of a thick lead plate to rays which, entering a slot in the plate, were reflected at the surface of mercury. After an hour's exposure, a shadowgraph of the ring was produced. Lord Blythswood photographed various objects by reflected rays with an exposure of twenty minutes. Professor Rood has reflected the rays from a platinum surface, and by this means taken a photograph of a piece of iron wire netting with an exposure of ten hours. Mr. Tesla, in his experiments, placed the reflecting plate at an angle of 45° to the direct ray, and then placed the photographic plate at right angles to the direction in which the reflected ray should pass if regular reflection existed. The time of his exposure was one hour.

The success of these experiments is, however, not sufficient to prove the existence of regular reflection. Professor Pupin thinks the experiments tend to confirm Professor Röntgen's opinion that regular reflection does not exist, though there is a diffuse scattering of the radiation through all bodies. Professor Pupin would call the phenomenon deflection rather than reflection, reserving the term reflection for those particular cases in which the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection.

Professor Alfred M. Mayer has contributed valuable experiments which seem to bear out the opinion of Professor Röntgen that the X rays are not polarisable. This is a most important point for strengthening the theory that these rays are not produced by vibrations transverse to the direction of their propagation. Professor Mayer has recently contributed to *Nature* an account of these experiments.

He states that to come to a definite conclusion as to whether Röntgen's rays are polarisable by passing them through a doubly refractive media,

it is necessary that the substance chosen to act on the rays must be of low density, very thin, and yet afford polarisation to ordinary light. In herapathite, an iodo-sulphate of quinine, he has found these qualities. It has a density of only 1.8, and crystals of herapathite only 0.05 mm. in thickness, with their axes crossed at 90°, entirely obstruct the incident light so that their crossed portions appear intensely black.

Professor Mayer covered six discs of glass, 0.5 mm. thick and 25 mm. diameter, with crystal plates of herapathite, crossing one another at various angles. A black field was produced while they crossed at right angles. He fastened these discs to the surface of a screen of compressed brown paper which was found to be impervious to the rays of an electric arc light, placed one foot from the screen, during an exposure of two hours. He also placed on the screen three discs of the same kind of glass overlapping one another, so that the three thicknesses of the glass had to be traversed by the X rays before they reached the photographic plate. These discs form standards with which the action of the X rays on the discs covered with herapathite is compared. On the screen he also placed a square of yellow blotting paper $\frac{3}{4}$ mm. in thickness and covered with superimposed herapathite crystals from two to four layers deep. This screen covered a sensitive plate, and was exposed to the action of a Crooke's tube for three separate durations of exposure, in the first place for half an hour, in the second for one hour, and in the third for two hours and a half. In each experiment on developing the plates there was not the slightest trace of the presence of the herapathites. There was no motling on the surfaces of the photographs of the glass discs, which were of uniform illumination and grain throughout, even when looked at through a magnifying glass. Thus it seems evident that the rays are incapable of being polarised.

Mr. W. L. Goodwin, of the School of Mining, Kingston, Canada, has been experimenting with the relative transparency or opacity of various substances to these rays. He describes as opaque the following solids: paraffin wax, wood, charcoal, coke (in part), asphalte, albertite, starch, the diamond. As fairly transparent: citric acid, jet, anthracite, amber, natrolite, caustic potash, caustic soda, borax, soda crystals. As somewhat transparent: silicified wood, Epsom salts, serpentine, staurolite, stilbite, lazulite, cryolite, Mohr's salt, analcite, borax glass, nitre, Rochelle salt. As somewhat opaque: mica, tourmaline, wulfinite, axinite, spinel, calcite, aragonite, kaolin. As opaque: roll sulphur, crystal of rhombic sulphur, fluor-spar, topaz, beryl, ruby quartz, chalco-pyrite, anhydrite, celestine, barite. Sulphuric acid is as opaque as the same thickness of sulphur. Water is even more opaque than paraffin wax. It has been suggested that the use of Röntgen's rays

may provide an efficient means of testing the genuineness of precious stones. Diamonds, for instance, can be distinguished by being transparent to the rays while rubies are characterised by their opacity.

The penetrative power of these rays through the human body was well evidenced in Professor Oliver Lodge's recent observation of the excitation of fluorescence by the rays after they had penetrated the bodies of two men clothed and standing one behind the other.

At a meeting of the Berlin Physiological Society, Dr. Frenzel showed photographs taken on bromide of silver paper with the X rays. A remarkable specimen was that of a frog taken on twelve sheets of the paper, laid one upon the other; the photograph was equally well defined on each sheet.

An interesting feature of the rays is that revealed by Professor J. J. Thomson. He has found that when the rays pass through any substance they make it for the time being a conductor of electricity, even though the substance is in its normal state a perfect insulator. This explains the fact that an electrified plate in air, or other medium, loses its charge when exposed to these rays whether the charge be positive or negative. This leakage seems due to the condition of the insulator rather than that of the plate, for it occurs when the plane of the electrified disc is parallel to the rays as well as when it is at right angles to them.

The following experience of Professor Thomson is remarkable: "The air through which these rays have passed retains traces of conductivity for some little time after the rays have ceased to pass through it. This can be shown by blowing the air, from a place where the rays are plentiful, against a charged disc placed where there are only a few rays; the rate of leak from this disc is much increased by the blast."

A large number of measurements of the rate of leak from positively and negatively electrified discs surrounded by air have been taken, and it has been found that the rate of leak in the two cases is almost identical. Measurements have also been taken of the rate of leak through air at different pressures, and it is found that the rate of leak is greater at a higher pressure than upon low pressure, and is, over a wide range of pressures, approximately proportioned to the square root of the pressures. The rate of leak is also greater in air than in hydrogen, being at atmospheric pressure about twice as great in air as it is in hydrogen, while the leakage through carbonic acid is faster than that in air. Professor Thomson thinks that this leakage of electricity through non-conductors is due to a kind of electrolysis, the molecule of the conductor being split up by the rays which act the part played by the solvent in ordinary electrolytic solutions. "If

the air through which the rays are passing is ionised, the number of ions would, according to the well-known law of dissociation, be proportioned to the square root of the pressure, provided the amount of ionisation is small. Thus the result we obtained for the rate of leak through air at different pressures, indicates that the rate of leak is proportional to the number of ions." It seems likely that measurements of the rate of leak from a disc charged to the fixed potential will afford a means of testing the efficiency of various patterns of Crooke's tubes or of the tubes at different periods. The tubes are subject to variations; they have, in fact, a life improving for some time after they are sealed off from the pump and attaining a maximum efficiency, after which they begin to deteriorate. Professor Thomson suspects that Röntgen's rays are not all of the same kind. He has taken measurements of the change of the rate of leak from an electrified disc, produced by changing the number of sheets of tinfoil interposed between the disc of the phosphorescent tube. When only a few sheets of tinfoil were interposed, the addition of another sheet of tinfoil produced a considerable diminution in the rate of leak; but when the phosphorescent bulb was a very good one a considerable leakage remained when a large number of sheets of tinfoil were interposed, and the residual leakage diminished but slowly as the number of sheets of tinfoil were increased. Thus, there appear to be some rays that are rapidly absorbed by the tinfoil, others seem to pass through it with comparative ease.

It has been found that when a Crooke's radiometer is exposed to the X rays, the action of the rotating vane is arrested. This effect has been discussed in a paper by Drs. A. Fontana and A. Umani. It appears that the action is merely electrostatic, and is due to the electrification of the glass globe containing the radiometer. If the globe is wetted, or electrification prevented by the interposition of a conducting sheet, the rays do not effect the rotation of the radiometer.

Many observers agree in the opinion that these rays can be produced without the use of a Crooke's tube. Some assert that the arc light gives out this kind of radiation. Lord Blythswood claims to have taken photographs of invisible objects four years ago without the use of a Crooke's tube, merely using the powerful discharge of a very powerful Wimshurst machine, having 128 plates 3 feet in diameter and driven by a powerful electromotor.

A curious experiment is that described by Mr. W. Saunders in a letter to *Nature*, February 6. Upon a piece of board he placed a sensitive plate; on this, a penny piece, with the obverse side downwards, and on the top of the penny piece a $\frac{3}{10}$ -th-inch cedar board.

He then exposed the whole to the action of magnesium light. On developing there was a distinct image of the Queen's head.

Monsieur Lebon claims that the new photography can be accomplished by an ordinary paraffin lamp, and asserts that for years he has taken such photographs with this simple means. He proceeds as follows: Inside a box having thin sides he places a sensitised plate behind a negative. In front of the box he places an iron plate, and on the other side of the plate a lamp. After three hours' exposure an image is formed. On development, however, the image is indistinct, but if a sheet of lead is placed behind the box and folded over, to touch the iron plate so as to form a negative shell, the reproduction of the negative for the same length of exposure is quite distinct.

Mr. Henry Becquerel has discovered that the radiation from the double sulphate of uranyl and potassium affects a photographic plate through such substances as aluminium, copper and wood. Like Röntgen's rays it discharges an electrified body whether the charge be positive or negative. It is, however, unlike the X rays in that, like ordinary light, it can be refracted and polarised. It can also be more easily reflected than the X rays. These rays are also absorbed almost equally by aluminium and copper, so that it does not show the same dependence upon the atomic weight of the absorbing medium as the X rays. Thus we are confronted with a radiation intermediate in properties between the X rays and ordinary light. It would seem that this newly discovered radiation must consist of transverse vibrations.

It appears highly probable that the X rays are present in the solar radiation. In a recent number of the *English Mechanic* Dr. E. Packer mentions the interesting fact that metallic plates, foils and films, are relatively transparent to solar radiance of high refrangibility, and that photographic plates screened by such media during exposure to direct sunlight are affected in proportion to the thinness and electrical conductivity of the interposed screen. This discovery has been employed in photographing the solar corona, and satisfactory results are said to have been obtained.

The Supply of Sea-water to London.—The probable inadequacy in a very short time of the present water supply of London, is a fact which has already received the attention of our governing bodies; and a Royal Commission has lately dwelt on the scarcity which will have to be faced, while urging an extension of the present works, and a further intake from the rivers Thames and Lea. Our present water supply is put roughly at 200,000,000 gallons a day. By the completion of the works contemplated, it is thought the supply might be raised to 420,000,000 gallons a day, which might meet the wants of

London's growing population for another thirty-six years. All this water is filtered and made ready for domestic use, but 20 per cent. of it is used for non-domestic purposes. Here is an evident waste. As fresh water, with our growing population, becomes a more precious fluid, any practical scheme which could save the 40,000,000 gallons a day, used for municipal and other non-domestic purposes, and thereby increase the domestic supply by that extent per day, would be entitled to consideration. The Bill now deposited for supplying London with sea water, undertakes to efficiently replace the 40,000,000 gallons of fresh water now used for non-domestic purposes, by sea-water, and to bestow on Londoners various other advantages economical and sanitary. The scheme is not quite new. An Act, passing as an unopposed measure a few years ago, incorporated a company for supplying London with sea water; but the demand of hotels, parishes, &c., was so great, the directors found they had not prepared themselves with a sufficient authorised capital, and they allowed the powers granted by the Act to lapse. Now a wider scheme has been prepared, and if the Bill passes, as is hoped, by this June, at latest, we may have sea water in London by 1898.

The total cost is to be £450,000. The water is to be supplied by meter for public purposes, hospitals, &c., and also to householders: this is a boon which will be appreciated, and will probably prevent waste. The intake is to be opposite Lancing, between Brighton and Worthing, where the sea is supposed to be particularly free from sewage pollution. There will be only one pumping station at the settling tank at Lancing, a reservoir which is to have a capacity of 10,000,000 gallons, and whose bottom is to be 10 feet below high water. The water will be forced to a reservoir on Steyning Round-hill at nearly 500 feet above high water level, also with a capacity of 10,000,000 gallons. The water will flow by gravitation to a reservoir at Epsom, with the same capacity, and over 200 feet above high water level. It will then flow by gravitation to London, and it is claimed that it can be delivered at a pressure higher than that commanded by any of the water companies. The water will be carried the whole way in mains, which are to be 36 inches at the intake, reduced at Dorking to 32 inches, and from Epsom onwards and in the London mains to 30 inches. The design is to supply 10,000,000 gallons per day, and as the reservoirs at Steyning and Epsom will together contain two days' supply, the mains will always be full, which is supposed to be some mitigation to the metal of the injurious action of the sea-water: an alternation of wet and dry is considered still more trying. The mains form two complete circuits in London, and practically place almost every householder, at will, in easy connection

by means of service pipes. There will be hydrants in the streets for the supply of water carts, &c.

The use of sea-water for municipal purposes is new to Londoners, but it has been so used for some time by our seaports and coast towns; it is to their experience we must look to gauge its merits and demerits. Their evidence, obtained from them at various times since 1887, and treating of an experience, in some cases, of thirty-five years, was read before the Society of Arts in January of this year by Mr. F. W. Grierson, and is favourable. The only unfavourable report was from Hastings (1895); while an earlier report from that town (1885), was as distinctly favourable.

For flushing sewers there seems no evidence against the use of sea-water, while it is pointed out, its greater specific gravity and the larger quantities that could be used, should be advantageous. On the roads the action of salt may be described generally as negative; that is to say, it has not been found to destroy or injure them. There seems no evidence of its injuring granite or flint roads, while only two authorities were of opinion that it injured macadam by rendering it loose. It retards decomposition in wood-paving, and as sea-water keeps roads damper than fresh, it is, for wood and asphalte, superior to fresh water. It is this fact of the greater efficiency of sea-water watering that constitutes its own economical claim. There seems to be a concensus of opinion that one load of sea-water is as effective as two of fresh. The roads keep damp so very much longer: thus an immense saving ensues not only in water, but in wear and tear of carts, horse hire, &c.; and a consequent great reduction in municipal expenditure is borne witness to by numerous towns. The sea-water cakes the surface of roads, keeping down the dust, and glazing them; this glaze is visible to the eye. Tradespeople are pleased at the caking of the dust, while there seems to be very few complaints of tarnished goods or injury to dresses, boots, &c.

One disadvantage of the use of sea-water on roads has been pointed out: it is, that in the autumn, unless the glazed and caked dust is cleared away from the surface of macadamised roads, it becomes a damp slime. And it will have to be borne in mind that brine freezes at a lower temperature than water; so that in times of frost, we should have on our roads a liquid colder than water at the freezing point—inadvisable for the feet of men or animals. Mr. Grierson says, in this regard, that streets would not be watered in winter.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Hausaland and the Central Sudan.—The importance of the Hausas as a factor in the future of West Africa renders any fresh information respecting them a valuable addition to our knowledge. A people so numerous as to form 1 per cent. of the entire population of the globe, and with an aptitude for progress far beyond that of the races round them, who make good soldiers and keen traders, are well worthy of special study. The journey described in Mr. C. H. Robinson's volume ("Hausaland." London: Sampson Low & Marston, 1896) was undertaken with a view to the study of their language, a studentship for that purpose having been founded by the Hausa Association as a memorial of his brother who died whilst working as a missionary amongst them. As the hostility of the Tuaregs blocks the Sahara to European travellers, the river Niger furnishes the only route available to this part of the Sudan. The author accordingly, after following it to its junction with the Binue at Lokoja, and then ascending the latter stream as far as Loko, entered on a toilsome overland march of 350 miles, aggravated by even more than the usual difficulties with native carriers, to Kano the Hausa capital. The first important town reached was Zaria, called also Zozo, or Zegzeg, with a population of from 25,000 to 30,000. Within the ten mile circuit of its crumbling mud wall, is enclosed a considerable tract of cultivated land, bearing guinea corn, maize, and plantains. Its habitations consist of groups of huts, built of hardened mud and thatched with grass, standing in separate courtyards. The currency consists of cowries, of which 100,000 are worth about £3, of salt, and of slaves, sold for from 100,000 to 300,000 cowries each. Eight days' march through a thickly wooded country, which showed increasing signs of cultivation as the capital was approached, isolated farm-houses being seen during the last three days, brought the expedition to Kano, "the Manchester of Tropical Africa," as it was called by the author in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Its mud rampart of from 20 to 40 feet in height and fifteen miles in circumference, resembles that of Zaria in enclosing a large area of cultivated land, but differs from it in being kept in excellent repair, forming a powerful bulwark against native attack. Here a dwelling was assigned to the travellers, consisting of two umbrella-roofed huts standing

in an acre of garden or court-yard, on the outskirts of the inhabited zone. The population of Kano is estimated by the author at 100,000, of which slaves probably constitute one half, it lies in a plain surrounded by low hills, at a level 1425 feet above the sea, about 1000 feet lower than Zaria.

Commercial Importance of Kano.—“London itself,” says the author, “is probably not more generally known throughout the continent of Europe than Kano throughout an equal area in the Central Sudan,” and its manufactures are to be met with from the Gulf of Guinea to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic to the Nile. It is the meeting-point of races and nationalities, Mecca pilgrims, Arab traders, Tuareg bandits of the Sahara, slave dealers from all parts of the Sudan, and in Monteil’s opinion some two million people pass through it in the course of the year. Its importance is due to the industry of weaving, dyeing, and manufacturing cotton cloth, practised there on a large scale.

It would be well within the mark to say (says the author) that Kano clothes more than half the population of the Central Sudan, and any European who will take the trouble to ask for it will have no difficulty in purchasing Kano-made cloth in towns on the coast as widely separated from one another as Alexandria, Tripoli, Tunis, or Lagos.

The cloth is woven on narrow looms in strips no more than four or five inches wide, afterwards sewn together so neatly that it is difficult to detect the seams. It is generally dyed blue, indigo which grows wild in great abundance furnishing the colouring matter, but a scarlet dye is also used. Tanning leather, generally goat-skin, and its manufacture into saddlery, shoes and sandals, is another industry. The exported leather is usually dyed red. The import trade of Kano consists largely of kola nuts, which grow in the greatest perfection in the country to the back of the Gold Coast, and are diffused through the most remote districts of the Hausa States. This fruit, which is generally of a brick-red colour, is like a large chestnut, and grows in pods containing four to six nuts each. The stimulant properties it possesses, owing to its containing, in addition to tannin, an alkaloid analogous to theine and caffeine, causes it to be eagerly sought for chewing, despite its bitter and disagreeable taste. During its long transit to its place of destination, it must be kept constantly damp, else it splits, wrinkles, and becomes as hard as wood. Its price naturally increases with the distance it has travelled, and the nut, purchaseable at Gandja for five cowries, is worth at Sokoto 100, at

Kano, 140 to 250, and at Kuka on Lake Tchad, 250 to 300. English salt, which radiates to a distance of 150 miles from the ports on the Niger and Binue, is superseded in the countries beyond that limit by the native article brought on camels from the southern Sahara, and sold for a shilling a pound. Buying and selling is scarcely ever carried on without the intervention of a broker, who receives 5 per cent. commission from the seller.

Routes to Kano.—The European goods sold in Kano come for the most part by the desert route from the Mediterranean. The caravans which arrive every year, bring an aggregate of 12,000 camel loads of copper articles, sugar, pepper, gunpowder, needles, turbans, burnouses, &c. The time occupied in traversing the 1800 miles from Tripoli to Kano varies from three to nine months. The direct route thence to Kano is closed to Europeans by the hostility of the Tuaregs, who had recently murdered some Arabs, suspected because of their light complexions of being foreigners in disguise. The road from Lake Tchad is rendered equally impassable by the conquests of Rabbah, a lieutenant of the Mahdi, who from Darfur has invaded and subjugated Wadai, Baghimi and Bornu. In this direction, north from Kano, the camel is the universal beast of burden, while horses and donkeys are the carriers of the trade with the south.

The Slave Trade in the Central Sudan.—Mr. Robinson considerably reduces the estimate of other travellers when he calculates that out of the fifteen millions of the Hausa-speaking population, at least one-third are slaves, and this amounts to saying that one out of every 300 individuals now alive is a Hausa slave. All the evils connected with the slave trade in the Eastern Sudan are here reproduced on a larger scale, and within the British sphere of influence. The bulk of the Hausa slaves are raided, not among strangers but among their neighbours and kinsmen, thus exposing the country perpetually to all the horrors of civil war. The attack is made in overwhelming numbers, and all who resist are massacred, while the rest are marched in fetters to the town of the raiders, there to be sold to dealers, or reserved for the payment of tribute. The author, during an overland march of 800 miles, came in many places on the track of these raids, while, during his stay of three months in Kano, about 1000 slaves were brought in as the prizes of similar expeditions. As regards the actual slaves, their condition must vary with

the disposition of their owners, but Mr. Robinson seems to think that the great mass are satisfied with their position, and have no ambition to escape from it.

Hausas and Fulahs.—The Hausa empire, or confederation, consists of two sovereign States, Sokoto and Gando, and nine others tributary to one or other of these. The rulers are in all of a different race from the subject population, and are variously called Fulah, Fulatah, and Fulani. Their origin is unknown, and they only appeared in the countries they now rule some two centuries ago, establishing themselves there in scattered communities. Their supremacy dates from the appearance among them of a religious leader, Sheikh Othman, who, in 1802, proclaimed a crusade of aggressive Mohammedanism on the pagan Hausas, with the result of leaving to his two sons, Mohammed Bello and Abdallah, the dual empire of Sokoto and Gando respectively. The Fulahs, although originally a pastoral people, and still owners of most of the cattle in the country, are also a race of warriors and skilled horsemen, while the Hausas are more commercial in their proclivities. The subject States not only pay a considerable annual tribute to Sokoto and Gando, but are also bound to furnish a contingent of troops incase of war.

Leprosy in the Sudan.—Dr. Tonkin, who accompanied Mr. Robinson's expedition, collected a number of details regarding the diffusion of leprosy, which is, according to him, extensively prevalent in the Central Sudan. In the smallest villages there were generally one or two cases, and the lepers of Kano, who were organised into a sort of guild under a "king," were said to number a thousand. The examination of about 220 cases led to the conclusion, contrary to that arrived at by the Indian Commission, that it is propagated by contagion, being often conveyed by a husband to a healthy wife, and contracted by residence among those affected. The idea that it is induced by fish diet also obtains here, the probability being that it is caused, not by eating sound fish, but that which is tainted or semi-decayed. The apparent anomaly of its comparative rarity in places where fresh fish is abundant would thus be accounted for. No precautions are taken in the Sudan to segregate the lepers, who may even be seen selling provisions in the public market.

Journey through the Interior of Siam.—Mr. J. S. Black, in a paper read at the Royal Geographical Society's meeting on April 27, gave an interesting account of a consular journey through Siam and the Valley of the Mekong, in the beginning of 1895. His route lay across the south-eastern provinces, through Chantaboon, Battambong, and Siemrap, thence northwards by the western side of the Mekong basin, up that river and across the north of Siam, returning by the rivers Miping and Menam to Bangkok. The distance traversed was over 2000 miles, and the time occupied about six months. At Chantaboon the French occupation has made little difference, as the troops are quartered outside the town. It is a little place of 4000 inhabitants, whose principal export is pepper, grown by the Chinese, who form a large element of the population. The riches of Battambong and Siemrap have, in the opinion of the lecturer, been much exaggerated, although they contain valuable ruby and sapphire mines now owned by a British company, and employing some 2000 Burmese British subjects. The Menong region, with a very scanty population of its own, is cut off from communication with the rest of the world by natural obstacles to free intercourse. The rapids of Chiengkan on the Mekong, despite their successful passage by a French gunboat, are described as ordinarily impracticable for navigation, the trade of the Valley is insignificant, and the river unlikely to become the dreamed-of highway to the trade of China. Monkeys and wild peacocks abound on its banks, and the whole of the interior of Siam swarms with game, the roar of the tiger sometimes furnishing the camp with nocturnal music, and the tracks of elephants lying across the path. The last part of the journey by boat for 500 miles down the Menam from Chiengmai to Bangkok, was in some respects its most interesting portion, for this is the richest and most populous region of Siam, and an exciting episode was furnished by the descent of the rapids on the upper part of the river, where it passes through the wildest and most picturesque scenery.

British Rule in the Malay States.—Mr. Swettenham, Resident-General of the Protected Malay States, in an interesting lecture at the Imperial Institute on March 31, described the results of British administration among the people of the Malay Protectorate. Three classes of natives have there to be dealt with, the Malay chiefs, their hereditary subjects, and the Chinese immigrants. In every State which has received a British resident, slavery and forced labour were things of the past ; equal justice has been secured to all by the creation

of tribunals presided over by a trustworthy magistracy, and the lives and property of the people are as safe as in any part of her Majesty's dominions. Hospitals, prisons, police have all been efficiently organised, and a regiment of trained and disciplined Indian troops forms a force capable of taking the field when required, and obviating the use of British troops. The revenue of the States had almost exactly doubled at each interval of five years between 1874 and 1894, having risen during that period from less than half a million to 7½ million dollars. Through a country that twenty years ago was covered with dense jungle, 200 miles of railway, 2000 miles of road, and 1000 miles of telegraph have been carried, while the lines are admirably constructed and yet give higher returns on the capital expended than any railways in the world. To the Civil Service organised under British influence is due the credit for these results, attained with the greatest possible economy. The trade of the Protected States amounts to 60 million dollars a year; and last, not least, a beneficent revolution has been effected in the condition of the people themselves, who are declared to be "freer, healthier, wealthier, more independent, more enlightened, happier by far than when we went to them."

Cedar Forests in British Central Africa.—A move has been made by Sir H. H. Johnston, Commissioner in British Central Africa, to secure the preservation of the extensive cedar forests on Mount Mlanje, in the south-eastern corner of the British territory, by declaring the entire of its mass Crown property. One plateau, covered with a dense growth of cedar trees, covers an area of 700 to 800 acres, while an aggregate of some 300 acres are under similar forest in other places. Allowing 150 trees to the acre, this gives the number of full-grown trees as 150,000, with an average of 40 cubic feet of timber each. Their total value at the present price of 3s. per foot is reckoned at £9,000,000, but double that price ought, it is thought, to be realised. The tree, if not preserved by legislation, would probably have been extinct in five or six years; but measures are now being taken to supply by replanting the waste from cutting or decay.

Chinese Colonisation in Manchuria.—Captain Frank Young-husband, in his recently-published book "The Heart of a Continent," (John Murray. 1896), gives an interesting account of the gradual colonisation of Manchuria by Chinese immigrants, the overflow of the densely populated or famine-stricken districts of China, who are doing

exactly the same work as the English colonists in the backwoods of Canada or North America—clearing the forest, and bringing in year by year larger areas under cultivation. Unwearied in toil they rise at daybreak, and after a good meal, work for hours at the task of uprooting the stumps of the trees they have felled, or preparing the land for crops. Strong, hard men, with enormous appetites, they eat out of bowls vast quantities of millet porridge, vegetable stews, and soups, and live in comfortable, well-built houses, with solid, heavy roofs. The Tartar inhabitants, the men of the Eight Banners, an unprogressive population, have been, to a large extent, drafted off to garrison the towns of China.

Catholic Missionaries among the Tartars.—Captain Young-husband is enthusiastic in his admiration of the lives and work of the Catholic missionaries, two of whose stations in Manchuria were visited by him in the course of his journey in 1886. The French priests, Pères Raguit, Card, and Riffard, made a deep impression on him, and he declared them to be “types of all that is best in man,” carrying about with them an atmosphere of pure, genuine goodness which makes itself felt at once. He was particularly struck with the devotion of their entire lives to their task, and with the sacrifice of all hope of return to home or country. Even if they did not make many converts, they could not fail, he said, to do good, as no one, whether Chinaman or European, could be in contact with them for five minutes without feeling the better for it. He deviated from his route in order to visit the missionary headquarters in the heart of Manchuria, where he was received by Pères Litot and Maviél, who introduced him to the bishop, “a noble-looking, kindly gentleman, who had lived thirty years in the country, and has since died there.” Here he was much impressed by the fact that the whole village was Christian, and that its inhabitants, “under the kindly, genial influence of these good priests, seemed like a different race from the cold, hard Chinamen around them.”

Journey of Prince Henry of Orleans.—The journey of Prince Henry of Orleans in 1895, from the valley of the Red River to that of the Brahmaputra, covered a distance of 2100 miles, of which 1600 was through absolutely unexplored country. No fewer than seventeen ranges of mountains were crossed, at altitudes of from 12,000 to 13,000 feet, and as mules were found of no use beyond the Salween, 26 Tibetan coolies, 16 of them Christian converts, supplied the entire

transport for the remainder of the way, and had their endurance taxed to the utmost. During the exploration of the country between the Salween and the Khamti hills, in the months of October and November, was made the discovery of the sources of the Irrawaddy, which renders the journey geographically memorable. Previous knowledge of that stream was limited to its course below the confluence of the two main branches which compose it—the Nmai Kha and the Mali Kha, signifying Eastern and Western respectively. The origin and relative importance of these two affluents were alike unknown, until the French traveller, after crossing eleven streams, found the Tuorong, or eastern branch, to be the largest and longest, and its source to be situated about 30 miles north of the 28th degree of latitude, and in longitude 99. The Tuorong receives several tributaries, while the Mali Kha is made up of small streams, some mere torrents, with very short courses. These streams drain the Khamti country, and have their sources in the northern districts of Burma, which are separated from the Tibetan drainage system by a high watershed. The last stage of the journey from Khamti to Assam was in some respects the most trying, as supplies were so scarce that starvation sometimes seemed imminent. Sadiya, in Upper Assam, was however safely reached on Christmas Eve, one coolie only having been lost in the snow, while the others showed plainly the effect of the hardships they had undergone.

Notices of Books.

Robinet de Plas. Par l'Abbé PROFILLET. Paris: Téqui. 1895.

THE life of the brilliant officer of the French Navy who, after attaining high distinction in his professional career, retired from the world to end his days as a saintly Jesuit, forms here the substance of a volume as edifying as it is interesting. Born in 1809 in the old manor house of Puycheni in Auvergne, François Robinet de Plas, though brought up by Christian parents, resembled too many of his countrymen in abandoning all practices of religion for twenty-five years after making his first Communion. The faith thus early lost was only recovered after a long and painful struggle, but when, after years of doubt and hesitation, he at length returned to the Church of his baptism, he made rapid advances in sanctity. During the remaining twenty-four years of his active service his work was that of an apostle among his shipmates, and his sole desire was to make reparation for the scandal he had formerly given. Entering the Jesuit novitiate when just sixty, his humility and application in following the classes were no less remarkable than his zeal and fervour after his ordination. The interest of his life is enhanced by its connection with the great public events of his time, including the establishment and overthrow of the Second Empire, the Crimean War, the Mexican Expedition, and the successive sieges of Paris by the Prussians and Communards. The abbé's style does full justice to his material, and he gives of all the events treated of sufficient detail for interest without prolixity.

The New Mission Book of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

THE compiler of this little volume, which we welcome from America, is evidently a Redemptorist. The instructions and prayers which fill his manual are drawn chiefly from the works of St. Alphonsus, and are expressly adapted to preserve the fruits of missions preached by his faithful and zealous sons. It is of a handy size, and neatly printed and bound.

The Hidden Treasure; or, the Value and Excellence of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By ST. LEONARD of Port Maurice, O.S.F. New translation by Fr. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.S.F. Dublin : James Duffy & Co.

TWO versions of this well-known treatise on the Mass existed in our language before Father Prendergast undertook his translation. But both versions seemed to the editor of this translation to sin in the matter of unreadableness. The English was slipshod, and sometimes fell short of the expressiveness of the original. A graver defect made the previous translations unpalatable reading to those who have an innate respect based on gratitude for the priesthood. Some pages were allowed to pass into the English version which needlessly reflected on the conduct of certain priests in other times and climes. These pages have been omitted in Fr. Jarlath's book, which has been diligently compared with the Italian of St. Leonard, and rendered into clear and idiomatic English. Much good would accrue to souls and much glory to God, if the sublime teachings of "The Hidden Treasure" were better known, studied and applied. Devotions increase, and varieties of services crowd one another out, but what we seem to want to-day is a higher and more practical appreciation of the value of a Low Mass. If the words of the great Missioner of the Eighteenth century were taken to heart by the rising generation, the attendance at week-day Mass would quickly run up, and daily work and home life would be more immediately subjected to cleansing and ennobling influences. Who will start a new religious organisation and inaugurate, under ecclesiastical sanction, a Daily Mass League for men? This little book, which is beautifully printed and tastefully bound, should, with Cardinal Vaughan's manual, "The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass," lead many hearts earnestly to weigh the pregnant words of the old Austin Canon :

"If this most holy sacrament were celebrated in only one place, and consecrated only by one priest in the world, with how great longing thinkest thou would men be affected towards that place and to such a priest of God, that they might see the divine mysteries celebrated!"

G. H.

Le Maréchal de Ségur (1724-1801). Ministre de la Guerre sous Louis XVI. Par LE COMTE DE SÉGUR. Paris : Librairie Plon. 1895.

THE life of le Maréchal de Ségur is a valuable contribution to French history, and, if the author has occasionally wandered from his subject in illustrating it, readers who are not thoroughly

versed in the history of France will thereby be the gainers. Philippe-Henri de Ségur was the son of a distinguished officer, who had become a colonel at the age of seventeen, and he himself was made a colonel at nineteen ; but it is only fair to add that both father and son had shown great courage in battle before this honour was conferred upon them. The subject of this biography saw a great deal of active service in early life, and he was present at the sieges of Linz and Prague during his teens. When he was twenty-two he greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Rocoux, at which he was very severely wounded. On that day his mother was sitting quite wide awake, in an arm-chair beside a folding-screen, when she suddenly thought she saw the head and neck of her son all covered with blood depicted upon it. The next day she received the news that, at the very hour of the apparition, a bullet had entered his chest. In less than a year he was again terribly wounded, this time in the arm, at the battle of Lowfelt, and on this occasion, also, the event is said to have been signified supernaturally to one of his relatives. His favourite twin-sister, who became Abbess of Trénel, was occupied with some of her conventional duties, when she was suddenly seized by a very violent pain in her left arm, and crying out "My brother is wounded !" she lost consciousness. A few days later a courier brought the news that on that very day and at that very hour her brother had been struck by a cannon-ball on the left arm and seriously injured.

At the age of twenty-five, de Ségur married an heiress of sixteen, and, a couple of years later, his father, under whom he had frequently served in war, died of anthrax. For some time afterwards the future Marshal's public life was comparatively uneventful ; but two important private incidents were the births of his sons, one of whom was destined to become French Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, the other an author and a poet. In 1755 "les perpétuelles déprédatations commises par les Anglais," on the French ships and colonies, exhausted the patience of Louis XV., and de Ségur, with de Castries as his chief, was sent to defend Corsica from those "éternels adversaires de la France." Little, however, came of the expedition. In another year or two began a much more serious affair, the Seven Years' War, and in the course of it, at the battle of Clostercamp, de Ségur was wounded for the third time, and for the first time taken prisoner. De Castries, however, effected an exchange of prisoners, and in the following year de Ségur was present at several engagements with the army of the Lower Rhine.

Soon after the peace de Ségur was made Governor of Burgundy, and he never again saw active service. When he was fifty-four his

wife died. The chief consoler of her latter days seems to have been Voltaire. "The fanatics are down," she said to him. "They can do no more harm ; their reign is at an end !" and she recommended him, as their conqueror, to be generous to the vanquished. Voltaire disagreed with her. "These fanatics, these hypocrites," he answered, "are savage dogs ; they are muzzled, but they still have teeth." And he declared with excitement that those teeth must be extracted. The "enthousiasme ressemblant à la superstition," felt by his admirers for Voltaire, was so intense that when he advised the Marquise de Ségur to try a diet consisting of the yolk of eggs and potatoes, a bystander "fixa sur moi son œil ardent, et, me pressant vivement le bras, me dit avec un cri d'admiration : 'Quel homme ! quel homme ! pas un mot sans un trait.'"

De Ségur was about sixty-six when, after fierce opposition from his enemies, he was appointed Minister of War to Louis XVI., his old friend, de Castries, at the same time being made Minister of Marine. "Notre éternelle rivale," England, again became troublesome, in America, and the war against her in that country was carried on under the administration of de Ségur. He held his office for nearly seven years, which were spent, not only in opposing foreign foes, but also in one long battle against the efforts of courtiers and other influential people to obtain lucrative military appointments for unworthy candidates. Even the Queen, with whom he was a special favourite, found him inflexible on this point. While he held the portfolio of War he was remarkable for his sternness towards officers of high position and for the consideration which he showed for common soldiers ; and he mitigated the severity of the corporal punishment then prevailing in the French army. A great change took place in the position of the Ministers to the Crown, with the accession to power of the Archbishop of Toulouse ; although not in name, in fact he was Prime Minister, and both de Ségur and de Castries resigned their portfolios rather than submit themselves to his domination. This was about the year 1787, when de Ségur was of the age of sixty-three. A couple of years later the French Revolution opened with the destruction of the Bastille. During the preceding troubles the Queen had often sent for de Ségur, and she had consulted him in almost every fresh difficulty. During the Reign of Terror, when nearly seventy years old and a martyr to the gout, de Ségur was incarcerated in the horrible prison of La Force. On his release he was reduced to great poverty, and could do nothing to earn a livelihood. His sons supported themselves by writing, and probably they gave him some help. An even greater grief than his imprisonment was the enrolment of one of his grandsons in the army of the Republic which was so odious to him.

It had been through the instrumentality of de Ségur that the great Napoleon was enabled to enter the French army, and an interesting correspondence between Napoleon's father and de Ségur, respecting a difficulty in connection with it, is given in these pages. After he had come into power Napoleon received de Ségur in audience at the Tuilleries, and also gave him a pension; but this the old Marshal did not long enjoy; for, wonderful as had been his power of recovering from dangerous wounds inflicted in battle, he could not cope with the more prosaic attacks of the gout, to which he fell a victim in the second year of the present century.

Columbian Sketches. By RUDYARD HOME. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1895.

THE results of a holiday tour in Canada and the United States are embodied in this brightly written volume, which, we gather from the preface, first appeared serially in the Belfast *Morning News*. The author, while making no pretension to exhaustive treatment of so vast a subject, has brought to bear on it a vivid power of observation, seeing and noting much that has escaped other travellers. His impressions of things often described before are thus fresh and original, and enable us to realise the scenes he has been through better than many more elaborate disquisitions on them. Travelling too, as a private individual without special introductions, he is untrammelled by those obligations of hospitality which compel the official tourist to see everything through rose-coloured spectacles. His chapter on Religious Tolerance under the Stars and Stripes contains, for instance, information new to us, and we in this country scarcely realise the existence in America of such bigotry and sectarian hatred as are embodied in the American Protestant Association described by him, and claiming a muster-roll of 6,000,000, of whom 40,000 are supplied by New Jersey alone. These figures seem so incredible that we should like to have them verified on some other authority before accepting them as absolutely authentic.

Wrecked and Saved. By MRS. PARSONS. London: Burns & Oates. [Undated.]

NO more charming book could be put into a child's hands than this tale of a boy's struggles and trials. Young and old readers alike may follow with interest the story of his early life, from the hour

when he is cast upon the beach, the infant survivor of a shipwreck, to the trial for murder, which is the climax of his fate. Under the shadow of the grievous tribulation that befalls him his faith never fails, yet we are made to feel that his resignation is the result of no effortless self-conquest, but of a hard-won victory over nature.

Rosalind. The Story of Three Parrots. By EMILY MARION HARRIS. London: George Redway. 1895.

THE ingenious device by which three feathered travellers are made to narrate their experiences to the little heroine of this pretty volume, will, we are sure, commend itself to juvenile readers. The gift of intelligent speech, belief in which as a possible attribute of the animal creation recurs in the mythology of all primitive peoples, could nowhere be more appropriately bestowed than on those strange creatures who mimic our utterance so closely, and often with such seeming intuition of its purpose. The tales of Rosalind's three friends show them to have been also shrewd observers of character, and the adventures of "Apollo," "Polydore," and "Paula," have human interests interwoven with their autobiographical details.

The Religion of the Romans. By FRANK GRANGER, D.Lit., Professor in University College, Nottingham. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, Strand, London. 1895. Pp. 313.

MR. GRANGER endeavours to put before us the attitude of the pagan Roman mind towards the preternatural. Our author is a lover of ghost stories. The following ghost story, which is taken from Pliny, is worth quoting at length:

There was a large mansion at Athens which was notorious for its unhealthiness. When all was quiet at night noises as of iron were heard, and, if you listened carefully, rattling of chains seemed to come gradually near. Then the ghost appeared! an old man, wasted and squalid, with long flowing beard and towzled hair. He had fetters on his ankles and chains on his wrists, and kept shaking them. The house was deserted, and left entirely to the occupancy of the ghost, *illi monstrum relicta*. It was advertised to be sold or to let, if any one should be willing to take it. The philosopher Athenodorus comes to Athens, reads the placard. The low figure leads him to make inquiries. The information he receives not only fails to scare him, but rather stimulates him to take the house. When night began to fall, he gave orders that his couch should be set in the front part of the house, and calls for writing materials and a light. He dismisses all the attendants to the interior of the building, and began to write, so that his attention should leave no room for empty imaginings. At first all was quiet. The iron rattles, chains are moved about. He

kept his eyes fixed on his tablets without raising his stile, and stiffened his mind to control his hearing. The noise became more frequent, approached; seemed to be on the threshold, and now to have passed it. He looks up. He sees and recognises the phantom described to him. It stood and made a gesture as though it summoned him. The philosopher, with a coolness for which, unfortunately, he himself was the only evidence, motioned to the ghost to wait a moment, and began writing again. The ghost replied by rattling his fetters over the writer's head. He looks up, and finding the same gesture made, takes the lamp at once and follows the phantom, which went with a slow step as though dragged down by the irons. It moved into the courtyard of the house, and suddenly faded away, leaving the philosopher alone, who marked the place of its disappearance by making a small heap of leaves. On the next day he went to the magistrates and suggests that the spot should be dug up. A skeleton is found in fetters, and is buried in due course at the public expense. After this had been done, and the shade was laid to rest, the house ceased to be haunted.

Mr. Granger's book will be useful to students of Latin literature, and interesting to all lovers of folk-lore.

A History of the Somerset Carthusians. By E. MARGARET THOMPSON, with Illustrations by L. BEATRICE THOMPSON. London : John Hedges. 1895.

AMONG the English shires, Somerset alone was honoured by having in its midst two communities of Carthusian monks. Of the nine charterhouses of the old English Church, Witham, the first foundation of the Order in this realm, and Hinton the second, stood within a few miles of one another in the north-eastern corner of the county. These two houses have found a sympathetic chronicler in Miss Margaret Thompson, and an artistic delineator of their scanty remains in Miss Beatrice Thompson, her sister. But when all is told of which we can have present knowledge, there is not much to attract or interest the general reader in the slender records of these silent houses of prayer and contemplation. For the cloisters of St. Bruno's family were not like those of the Black Benedictines, the scene of active influence and intellectual labour for the benefit of Church and world, nor yet like the homes of the white-robed Cistercians, the centre of busy rustic labour and munificent almsgiving to the whole country-side ; on the contrary, they were, and were meant to be, solitudes, deserts, where the soul could dwell on the eternal truths unhampered by contact with the world. The story of the wholesale evictions which were deemed necessary to render Witham sufficiently solitary for its saintly colonists from the famous mother-house in Savoy, reads like some chapter in contemporary history recording the scattering of crofters and the waste-

laying of their kail-yards to extend the deer forest of some Radical millionaire. But St. Hugh, the third prior of Witham, wiser in his generation than some in ours, who make a solitude and call it peace, refused to enter into possession of the place till fair compensation had been made to all who left their holdings at the royal command to make way for the monks. The subsequent history of Witham is singularly uninteresting even for a Carthusian house. If any reader entertain the hope that a community, ennobled by the long government and life-long care of St. Hugh of Lincoln, would prove through succeeding ages a beacon of light and leading to the Church, that hope will find little to feed upon in the pages of Miss Thompson's volume. The monks of Witham were hidden with Christ in God; their prayers and intercessions have left no mark on history. Hinton, a foundation of less distinction, in its earlier days seems to have occupied a higher place in public estimation in later times; it gave the first prior to the London Charterhouse (1371), and was the house chosen by that famous politician, ambassador, and scholar, Dr. Batmanson, when he withdrew from the world to combat the pestilential publications of Erasmus and to prepare himself for eternity. Hinton, too, was the home of the only Carthusian who figures in Shakespeare, the famous Dan Nicholas Hopkyns, a seer of strange visions and a prophesier of vain conceits, led on by whose mystic sayings the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, his devoted penitent, was brought at last to the scaffold.

Miss Thompson's work will, we hope, interest many readers in an Order once more established amongst us; we trust, moreover, that the other Carthusian monasteries, offshoots of Witham and Hinton, will not be long in finding historians as careful and painstaking as the lady who has given us this very acceptable volume. One slight correction seems desirable. At p. 191, Fr. Williams, who died at Little Malvern Court, June 2, 1797, is spoken of as the last of the English Carthusians. This sad distinction seems to belong rather to Dan James B. Finch, who died at Fernyhalgh, near Preston, on March 3, 1821, *et. 72.*

Vie Mortelle du Christ vengée des Attaques de feu Renan, &c. Par L'ABBÉ BOUCHET DE BARBUTS. Paris: P. Téqui. 1895.

As a book for spiritual reading, the "Vie Mortelle" may be warmly recommended; it maintains throughout a spirit of deep and earnest piety, and its doctrine is above all suspicion or reproach. The narrative is vivid; the style is smooth, transparent,

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and not ungraceful. In spite of the second part of the title, which leads one to expect the fierce noise of controversy, the voice of criticism sounds remote and faint; in fact, even the few words that are heard are the words of a criticism in its death-agony. We think it might safely have been left to its natural dissolution. On the other hand, the more serious questions of present-day criticism are practically unmentioned.

We were deeply interested in one passage of the narrative, because of the side-light it throws on a most suggestive critical conjecture. It occurs in the account of our Lord's appearance to Magdalen after His resurrection.

Jésus lui dit: *Noli me tangere. . . . C'en est assez, vous m'avez suffisamment touché. . . . Je suis affranchi de la vie de la douleur et de la corruption. J'ai acquis une sorte de spiritualité. La matière avec ses épaisseurs et son opacité ne m'embrarrasse plus, &c., &c.*

In modern books we are clearly warned by a system of punctuation and inverted commas not to confuse text with comment; but what would have happened to a reader in a remote age when inverted commas were unknown? Certainly St. Jerome, in his preface to the Book of Esther, says:

Quem librum editio vulgata, laciniosis hinc inde verborum sinibus trahit, addens ea quae ex tempore dici poterant, et audiri; sicut solitum, est scholaribus disciplinis, sumpto themate, excogitare quibus verbis uti potuit qui injuriam passus est, vel qui injuriam fecit.

J. M. I.

Notes on the Nebular Theory. By WILLIAM FORD STANLEY, F.R.A.S., F.G.S., &c. &c. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. (Ltd.)

SPECULATIVE cosmogony seems to have a great attraction for some minds: we do not ourselves feel that attraction to any great extent; the data are so uncertain, the conditions in which matter existed at the vastly distant period of time, to which cosmogony carries us back, are so completely unknown to us, that we doubt whether much scientific advantage is gained by such speculations. But we speak only of the earliest dawn of cosmogony, the theories dealing with the first process of formations of the heavenly bodies, not with their subsequent history, on which modern astronomy, with the aid of the spectroscope, has thrown a marvellous light, and which is full of interest.

The work before us is highly speculative, so much so that some of the separate papers intended for communication to the learned

societies, in which form the author originally wrote it, were (as he tells us in his Preface) considered by "orthodox authorities" *too speculative* for that purpose.

The theory of world-formation known amongst astronomers as the Nebular hypothesis is associated with the great name of La Place; he was not the first to suggest the idea that the Sun and Planets were formed from nebulous matter, which in one shape or another had occurred to other philosophers; but he seems to have worked his hypothesis independently, differing from his predecessors in several important details. He deals merely with the solar system; and his theory (as some of our readers may be aware) is briefly this—he supposes a cloud of intensely heated gas, which he calls a nebula; this nebula, enormous of course in size, assumed a globular form under the action of its own gravitation, and with a rotation round an axis; as it rotated, it became considerably flattened at its poles, and gradually spread itself out into something like a vast wheel. This wheel-shaped mass of attenuated matter revolved with the same angular velocity throughout, and so it came to pass that the outer part of it detached itself in the form of a huge ring, and this at length eventually became condensed and so formed a planet. The planet again (which had now acquired a movement of rotation on its own axis) might itself, by the same process on a smaller scale, become a centre with rings surrounding it, which might either as in the case of the planet Saturn remain as rings, or condense into satellites. At the same time inner planets were formed round the Sun, with or without satellites, in the same way as the outer one had been; and thus the whole Solar system came into being. Such in brief outline is the theory, the symmetry and beauty of which have thrown a spell of fascination on many astronomers. It seems to account for so much that we find in existence, even to account for it all too well, as some would say. But is it true? There are objections to it; one very palpable objection to the idea of the whole vast nebulous matter revolving throughout with the same angular velocity; this is not only highly improbable but in our humble judgment physically impossible. There are also other difficulties: and it is to be noted that the existing nebulae, of which there are several in the heavens visible through a telescope (though only one perceptible by the naked eye) do not lend much support to the theory; no one of them, so far as we know, has assumed the form of a revolving *spheroid*; some are spherical in shape, some spiral, and others (we fancy the greater part of them) irregular in shape. This of course is not a conclusive argument, but must only be taken for what it is worth—namely, that the

modern nebulae do not appear to be behaving like that most ancient one, imagined by La Place, and therefore give no evidence in favour of his hypothesis. But certain modifications have been suggested of La Place's theory, and the author of the work before us does not bind himself to it rigidly. In fact he is far more ambitious in his speculations than the great French astronomer; for he attempts to account for the formation of the stellar universe generally.

He supposes space to have been filled with a kind of gaseous matter in a highly attenuated condition, to which he gives the name of *pneuma*: it may have been composed of any or all of the chemical elements, it would also be "transparent and not be visible in any form except when undergoing chemical combination or in condensation to form the visible nebula." The pneuma he considers to have been composed of infinitely minute units, which he terms *pneumites*, much smaller than chemical atoms, probably not more than $\frac{1}{10000}$ of the diameter of an atom. He goes at some length into the constitution of these pneumites. We extract one or two paragraphs as specimens of our author's style :

The centre of the pneumite may be in one sense a universal form of gravitational matter (*gravite*), or this may be an element of it, upon which alone the amount of gravitation and cohesion depends, while still possessing other affinities.

We hope our readers understand this sentence better than we profess to do ourselves. Again he says :

Upon the data just proposed, if we assume that our solar pneuma system originally extended to the primitive radius of other star systems then in condensation, we may imagine the synchronism of rates of vibration of certain classes of dissociated elements or *pneumites* would, by equal unity or multiple unity of vibrational period, promote association in groups to form what we recognise as the chemical atom, which may be compared roughly to a chord in music in relation to its separate notes.

We ought to explain also that he assumes the pneumite "to be the prime mover of light vibrations, which may be communicated through ether or otherwise to a distance." When grounds of pneumites have been formed into atoms, it seems that they are then in a condition to form a nebula; for the pneuma system condenses into the nebular one, through radiation of heat. Then a further condensation of the interior of the nebula may take place to form a central gravitation system or Sun. We hope we do not in any way misrepresent the author, but his style, which is none of the clearest, bewilders us. It will of course be understood that all these nebulae, as they condense, revolve round an axis; and as

soon as a central mass is formed, the law of gravitation comes into force, attracting all the particles of the nebula to the centre. But how is this central mass formed in the first instance? We presume by condensation, which would take place more readily in the neighbourhood of the centre than in the outer portions of the nebula, where the particles would have a tendency to fly off on a tangent.

Mr. Stanley's treatment of the Milky Way seems to have been suggested by the work of Thomas Wright of Durham, published in 1750, one of the earliest writers on cosmogony.

We may assume [our author says] that the whole system of the Milky Way formed an immense pneuma moving in slow rotation, the volume of which included the original places of the matter which surrounded and formed all the Stars of the System.

This enormous pneuma would have a tendency to separate into detached systems, commencing from the exterior, and forming at first nebulae, and then stellar systems. But as the Milky Way is not apparently symmetrical in form, but "an immense bifurcating plane of great depth, formed of stars unequally distributed," Mr. Stanley imagines that two spheroidal systems of great volume may at an early period have drifted together. "Such a collision as would be produced at the meeting-surface would form a relatively superior density plane, where the matter of the two systems would be united." Again, "If the two parts did not entirely combine, a bifurcating system might be formed." He goes on to discuss the formation of spiral nebulae and stellar systems; but we need hardly observe that his theories are of a highly imaginative character.

The formation of the System to which our own Earth belongs is discussed at considerable length; conjectures being hazarded as to the size and depth of the great nebulous rings, existing in those remote ages when the Earth had been formed, but Venus and Mercury had not been so; it is supposed that such an interior ring, circulating between the still nebulous sun and the newly-framed earth, would in great measure interrupt the heat of the sun, and produce severe cold at the terrestrial poles; later on, when Venus was formed, but was still in a very heated state (and much larger in volume than is now the case), there would be periods of heat whenever the planet was in inferior conjunction. Our author imagines formidable periods of time for some of these changes, which he considers as being contemporary with the great geological periods, Devonian, Carboniferous and others. A critic in a scientific paper has remarked, that

The author toys with millions of years in a manner which possibly

amused himself, but which can scarcely be edifying to the serious student.

We fear that there is some truth in this criticism: for instance, Mr. Stanley assumes the Devonian period in Great Britain to have lasted about 60 millions of years; and the Carboniferous period about 306 millions; and finally the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods (combined) 532 millions of years. He does not omit the vexed question of the Glacial condition, which prevailed at one time over a great part of Northern Europe and North America; and he attributes it chiefly (though not entirely) to the diminishing of the effective radiation of the sun for a period probable, "by clouding in the condensation of nebular matter at its critical temperature." He considers that the effect of the change of eccentricity in the earth's orbit—(Dr. Croll's favourite hypothesis)—and that of variations in the obliquity of the ecliptic, have probably been in some cases much exaggerated; and here we have the pleasure of agreeing with him, at any rate as regards the first of the two causes named; as regards the other, we are not aware that any very great stress has been laid on its importance; indeed, the fact of any great variation of obliquity is more than doubtful. Mr. Stanley does not go to any extent into mathematical calculations; where he does so we are not always able to follow him, as for instance in his attempt to calculate the density of the nebular planet-rings, out of which the earth and the other members of the solar system were formed (pp. 81 and 82).

The chapter on comets (chapter IX.) is perhaps the best in the book—supposing a universal pneuma, "motive in rotation, separating and condensing into separate systems"—at some distance between our sun and a near star, there "may have been many millions of local rotatory systems of matter, condensed to a nebular condition in a free state," which would move "sunward by central attraction;" these may be considered as comets; some might fall into the nebulous sun, and others, as we now see them, become permanent members of our system.

We trust we have not omitted any of the more important portions of Mr. Stanley's theories: if so, we must plead in our defence the difficulty of understanding his meaning. We do not, however, pretend to explain all his geological details, the formation of continents on the earth, the distribution of land areas, the accumulation of ice-cups at the poles, and other matters; into these he goes at some length. We may observe that he differs from Professor George Darwin and other very able modern astronomers in refusing to accept the opinion that the earth formerly rotated with much

greater velocity than it at present does, and that the velocity has been gradually reduced by the effects of tidal friction.

We give him credit for much reading and laborious research ; but the study of his work demands as a condition a great interest in cosmogony, and moreover a considerable stock of patience. We confess that our own patience has been somewhat strained by the perusal of it. Scientific men, as a general rule, even when advocating mistaken theories and advancing false or unfounded opinions, do at least express themselves in clear and intelligible language. The style of this author on the contrary is painfully obscure ; we have given one or two specimens of it, and could have added more if we had been so disposed. If the work should ever reach a second edition we respectfully counsel him to revise it carefully, and to recast some of the more difficult and least intelligible passages ; and (if we may venture so far) also to reconsider some of the opinions to which we have alluded. There must surely be some limit to the accumulated millions of years allotted to geological epochs ; and we believe that the tendency of the best writers on geology at the present day is rather to curtail than to enlarge them.

With regard to the main question raised by this work, as also by other treatises dealing with the nebular hypothesis, modern astronomy teaches us that the stars, once supposed to be *fixed*, are many of them, and perhaps all of them, in motion ; and if they were formed by condensation from nebulae, which we do not presume to deny (uncertain though it may be), their motions are probably the result of the rotatory movements of the nebulae of which they are the offspring. But how such rotation of the nebulous masses originated is unknown to us ; and the further question of the remote condition of matter from which the nebulae themselves were formed is a mystery not easily to be solved. Authors like the present one may indulge in imaginary suppositions to any extent that pleases them ; it may, however, be doubted whether science gains any solid advantage by their so doing.

L'Histoire de Jehanne. By Mme. LA C^{te}SS^e. SERRURIER. (Cr. 8vo, xiv.-300). Paris: P. Téqui, Rue du Cherche Midi.

IT is rare, and even difficult, to find originality in French stories which are free from any unsuitableness or suggestiveness. "Le Roman de Jehanne" does not differ from other books of the same class in this respect ; but it possesses a certain quiet charm, for the language is pure and the style simple.

It is the somewhat hackneyed story of a charming orphan left in the charge of a wealthy stepmother, who not unnaturally, perhaps, prefers her own handsome if rather plebeian daughter Berthe to the lovely, refined and distinguished Jehanne, who is to be kept carefully in the background till Berthe shall be married. For a great part of the book the scene is laid in Brittany, and the descriptions of scenery and life are charming, while the account of Jehanne's visit to the well where you "see your future-husband's face," as the old peasant woman tells her, has a touch of poetry in it, and reminds one of the old fairy story when the heroine meets the beautiful prince. For Jehanne really does see her future husband's reflection in the water, though it is unknown to her at the time, and Madame de Serrurier, more artistic than the author of the fairy tale, keeps her prince still a mystery to the young girl till after several romantic little incidents. Even then, after their meeting at a ball, there are the inevitable misunderstandings connected with this sort of love affair. All, of course, ends happily, and Jehanne and her prince (who is by the way a count) live "happy ever after." The characters are well drawn and consistent, the worldly and manœuvring mother of Berthe's rather unwilling suitor being a really clever though slight sketch.

Altogether the book is refined and graceful, and may be recommended to those who like a story absolutely harmless and conventional and not devoid of some incident and quiet interest.

Eurythmie et Harmonie. *Commentaire d'une page de Platon.*
Par LE CARDINAL PERRAUD. Paris: P. Téqui. 1896.

THIS little book, of ninety-two small pages, is virtually a sermon from "a portion,"—not "of Scripture;" but the *Protagoras* of Plato, ending with the words "all human life requires rhythm and harmony." The Cardinal begins by saying that the world should be an immense orchestra in implicit obedience to the supreme conductor, and inciting the audience of all mankind to know Him, to admire Him, and to praise Him, as He deserves. He tells us how Job wrote of "the harmony of heaven," how David declared the stars to be singing the glory of God, and how Tubal, who lived only a few generations after Adam himself, was the father of "those who sing the praises of God, accompanied by the organ and the cithara." We may observe, in passing, that the text quoted (Genesis iv. 21) only says "of those-

singing with the cithara and organ," without any mention of the praises of God; although they may possibly be implied. He goes on to show that, in the earliest Christian times, God was worshipped with "psalms and hymns, and spiritual canticles;" that St. Basil, in the fourth century, remarked that the sweetness of harmony was blended with the austerity of dogma in teaching the truth; and that only a few years later St. Augustine bore a singularly touching testimony to the power of sacred song. He then states that St. Ambrose introduced the custom of chanting the psalms of the office with two alternate choirs, one of men, and the other of women. As might be expected, he says much of St. Gregory the Great, and of the famous style of chanting which bears his name; nor does he fail to praise St. Philip's celebrated "disciple, penitent, and friend," Palestrina: and presently he turns to his own country and the Oratorians of France, making special mention of that great encourager of sacred music, de Bérulle. This section ends with a quotation from *Les Sources* of P. Gratry, to the effect that the best kind of music, like the best kind of poetry, is the sister of prayer, and that its function is to remind the soul of heaven, the only place of perfect harmony and repose. But music should be an auxiliary to preaching, as well as to prayer; and, after a warning against the use of theatrical, profane, and "vulgar" music in connection with either, Cardinal Perraud gives an instance in which sacred song had greatly aided a sermon of his own. Having preached upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah, he told his congregation that they should next hear them, not expounded, but chanted. Immediately the choir began "The prayer of the Prophet Jeremiah" in solemn plain chant, to the accompaniment of the organ only. It seemed to the Cardinal that only a heart of stone could have resisted the appeal "converte ad Dominum Deum tuum," as a remarkably fine singer threw "his whole soul and his whole faith" into the last phrase, with exquisite pathos; and he attributes any conversions which may then have taken place—the sermon was one of a Lenten course—as much, through the grace of God, to the solemn chant as to the words of the preacher.

Then comes a comparison between music and the Christian life. In each, law, order, obedience, regularity, and unity are absolutely necessary. A sacred harmony ought to control every part and portion of the Church, and to keep in perfect tune all the varieties of offices, graces, good works, and agencies which exist within its mighty orchestra; and the Cardinal praises "the urgency with which the Vicar of Jesus Christ has invited the schismatics of the East and the heretics of England to join in the great concert of Catholic Unity." A few pages upon "The Music and the Happiness of Heaven" bring

to an end an exceedingly graceful, instructive, and admirable little brochure.

The Brotherhood of Man. By the Rev. JOHN HOWARD CRAWFORD, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 379.

THREE is much pleasant reading in this book, but not, we think, much that is profitable. The object of the book is to show that the end to which mankind is progressing is a united brotherhood. Reviewing the past, Mr. Crawford has much to say on the Catholic Church. In the early and middle ages, he thinks, the Church, in many ways, showed herself favourable to the idea of a universal brotherhood. Her teaching that the Church is a "visible society," her extension of learning to all, her missions to the heathen, were all steps in the directions of a united brotherhood. But, on the other hand, her mania for creed-making, her practice of excommunication, her glorification of celibacy, her support of wars against the infidel, were so many drag-chains upon the movement. Even the "Reformers" did not sufficiently grasp the necessity of a universal brotherhood. This is shown by Luther's attitude towards foreign missions. "Let the Turks live and believe as they choose," said Luther, "just as the Pope and other false Christians are allowed to live." Indeed, "it was not till the theology of the nineteenth century had made plain the great truth of the universal Fatherhood, that Christendom fully realised the general brotherhood of man." There are some quaint sayings scattered up and down the pages of Mr. Crawford. The quaintest, perhaps, is this: "Aquinas raised Aristotle to an equal position of authority with the Sacred Scriptures." So far as we can learn, Mr. Crawford does not say this in reprobation of St. Thomas. He seems to regard him, in consequence of this alleged equalising, as "on the side of the brotherhood of man."

Thoughts and Aspirations of the Ages. Selections in Prose and Verse from the Religious Writings of the World. Edited by WM. CHATTERTON COUPLAND, D.Sc., M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, 715 pp.

THIS collection of extracts from the writings of teachers of every possible creed is "the response to a desire expressed by representative members of South Place Ethical Society, London," to possess such a book of spiritual reading.

It is entirely catholic in scope (*i.e.* in the sense which latter-day philosophers give to that word with a little *c*), comprising with noble impartiality the sacred writings of every variety of conflicting religions, and it is hoped that a time may arise, "and that not very remote, when broader-minded ethico-religious communities will find the book valuable as a lectionary, displacing 'Bibles' of narrower historical scope and of far more mixed content." The fact that the "Christian" literature predominates is apologised for on account of the greater variety and richness of the material. However, we notice that Unitarianism largely predominates among these "Christian" extracts, having no less than twenty-eight extracts, while mediæval Christianity can only claim thirteen (and this including Giordano Bruno!), and "Primitive Christianity" (with seventeen selections from the New Testament, of course in the Revised Version) has but twenty-four.

As to the extracts they are given in chronological order; those from the New Testament only "approximately," as "the authors are unknown except of the first four selections from St. Paul's Epistles." The writings of unknown authors include the four Gospels, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. "The fourth Gospel was probably written about 150 A.D."

The "broader-minded" religious communities who use this new "Bible" will not have to complain of lack of variety. For their first lesson, for instance, they may read an extract from the Buddhist Dhammapada; for their second, a selection from the Talmud; while the readings may be appropriately interspersed with hymns such as Cleanthes' hymn to Zeus, the Veni Creator, or a poem of Mrs. Browning. What more could a "catholic" mind desire? It is to be regretted that the literature of Fetish worship is so scanty, otherwise it would, we do not doubt, hold a prominent place in this handsome volume.

Vie du bienheureux Théophile de Corte, prêtre des Mineurs de l'Observance de S. François. Par M. l'Abbé ABEAU, Paris. 8vo, 413 pp.

LEO XIII. has lately raised to the altars of the Church another son of St. Francis, and his Life is now published in detail in the work before us. The author was for some years Superior of the *petit séminaire* which occupies the buildings of the Franciscan convent at Corte in Corsica, wherein our Saint made his religious profession. The biography has evidently been a labour of love, and

is careful and well written, though somewhat diffuse. Biagio de' Signori was born at Corte of a good family in 1676, and, after an innocent youth, joined the Franciscan Observants at the age of seventeen. From 1674 to 1700 he studied at Naples, and in the latter year was sent to do one more year at the convent of Ara Coeli at Rome. His great attainments led him to think of competing for the chair of philosophy there; but a call from God changed the course of his life. He went to make a stay in the convent of Civitella, in the diocese of the Abbey of Subiaco, to make the acquaintance of the Blessed Thomas of Cori, who had founded there a convent of "Retiro;" that is, a retreat of stricter life and more complete silence and recollection, away in the mountains. The Blessed Thomas saw in Theophilus a fit subject to aid him in his work of reform, and pressed him to remain. Theophilus refused, and returned to Rome. However, the last part of the journey he performed on a stretcher, having broken his leg at Tivoli on the way. On his sick-bed, attended by Blessed Thomas, who had come to see him, he reflected on the call he had received, and entering into himself, rejected the promptings of ambition, to embrace a higher life of silence, mortification, and obscurity. His life at Civitella was a model of religious perfection and of regular observance. He was distinguished by the humility and obedience which we expect of a saint, by gentleness mingled with strictness as a Superior, and by continual mortification. His love of the Divine Office, and his care for rubrics and ceremonies are noticeable. In meditation, to which two and a half hours every day are devoted by the rule of the convents of recollection, he was unconscious of all around him; the flies settled on his face, and the gnats stung him undisturbed. Miraculous graces were attributed to his prayers, and he was held in great veneration. In 1710 he was sent to Palombara in the Sabine country, another convent reformed by Blessed Thomas of Cori, and he was guardian there 1711-14, and at Civitella 1714-17. There the two Saints lived in friendship till the death of Blessed Thomas in 1727.

In 1730 Fra Teofilo was sent to his native island to found convents of Retiro, amid the greatest difficulties and perils. At the first convent fixed upon for reform, Campoloro, one of the Fathers, stirred up a rebellion amongst the country people against the change, by disseminating tales against the Saint and his companions. The church was filled with armed men on the first morning, and the new-comers were obliged to escape. The same programme was carried out with the same success at Farinola, whither he next betook himself, in spite of the presence of the definitor of the province. These scenes of violence were renewed at Pino Rogliano, but were unable to ruffle the calm-

ness of Theophilus. He walked barefoot to Caccia, a convent in the mountains, whither the Provincial had preceded him to prepare him a better reception, but the same discomfiture followed. At Zuani, another mountain convent, he managed at last to stay in spite of riots, and soon the convent became as popular as it was edifying. In the autumn of 1734 he was recalled to give new life to his old convents of Palombara and Civitella; and soon afterwards was called into Tuscany, where he was to reform the convent of Fucecchio, a little town on the Arno. When Theophilus arrived the guardian refused to surrender his office, and the religious refused to accept the stricter rule. They caused the people of the country to boycott him by refusing to send alms or food, or give any to those who went out to beg; doubtless expecting that the project would soon be given up, as in so many previous cases in Corsica. But the Saint gradually won their respect, obedience, goodwill, and veneration. The convent soon became flourishing, and before the death of Theophilus, in 1740, he was already regarded as a Saint; and the miracles which multiplied at his tomb produced an enthusiasm of devotion.

M. Abeau's book contains some original documents in an appendix, and some short notices of Corsican servants of God, from the Blessed Martin della Rocca in the fifteenth century down to the late pious and learned Cardinal Zigliari.

Napoléon et Alexandre I. L'Alliance Russe sous le premier Empire. III. La Rupture. Par ALBERT VANDAL. Ouvrage couronné deux fois par l'Académie Française. Paris: E. Plon. Nourrit et Cie. 1896.

FEW portions of French History are more interesting than that which deals with the period at which the great Napoleon, after attaining a position which had been unequalled by any monarch since the fall of the Roman Empire, was at last forsaken by fortune. He knew that his sovereignty was founded upon the popularity engendered by a succession of victories; and he believed that, unless that succession should continue unbroken, his power would diminish and that even his throne might totter; but he thought that one gigantic achievement was open to him, which would so far surpass all his others, as to enable him to repose for the remainder of his days upon its glories. That achievement was the ruin of Russia! The volume we now have to notice describes the events which took place from the first friction between Napoleon and the Czar to the failure of the last attempt at negotiation between those two great rivals, when the French

Emperor's enormous army had already marched some distance into Russia; and a chapter in conclusion gives some details of the disasters which so soon followed in the career of one of the most ambitious and most unscrupulous potentates that ever lived. This great tragedy is almost as well-known here as in France; Alison and Sir Walter Scott, to say nothing of a host of other writers, have made every phase of it familiar to English readers; but M. Albert Vandal gives the most complete and exhaustive account of it that we have ever had the good fortune to meet with. He has gone far and wide in search of evidence; he has quoted authorities of many kinds, if of varying value; he has drawn freely from the invaluable "*Archives Nationales*," and he has ended his volume with a most interesting correspondence between Napoleon and Caulaincourt. It was not the least curious feature of the rupture between the two mighty sovereigns that both Caulaincourt, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Kourakrine, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, were opposed to the warlike diplomacy of their sovereigns. On being summoned from St. Petersburg, Caulaincourt had an interview with Napoleon which lasted seven hours. Probably no servant of that Emperor ever spoke to him so freely or so fearlessly as his Ambassador to Russia; and in spite of the insulting and threatening manner in which Napoleon taunted him with his friendship for the Czar, who, he declared, had made him into a Russian, Caulaincourt never flinched from the position which he considered it his duty to take up in opposition to his master's opinions.

If M. Vandal does not attempt to conceal the ambition, the selfishness, or the mistakes of Napoleon, he represents Alexander I. in a worse light than that in which most Englishmen have been accustomed to regard him; but we must admit that, in support of his low estimate of the conduct of the Czar, he advances arguments of some weight. Nevertheless, there is another side to the question, and not the weakest evidence in its favour is the vindication of Alexander given by Caulaincourt in reply to Napoleon's assertions as to his perfidy, to be found in M. Vandal's own pages. In a book by a French author, it was to be expected that here and there would be found passages uncomplimentary to England and the English—our own contributions to French History contain at least equally plain speaking—but, whether they agree or disagree with his conclusions, critics from all countries should acknowledge that there is an air of honest intention in the style and tone of the author, and that he never tries to influence his readers unduly in forming their opinions from the evidence which he lays before them.

The book has dramatic interests as well as historical. The

descriptions of a great stag-hunt which Napoleon utilised for purposes of State, of the splendours of the assemblage of sovereigns at Dresden, of the ball at which the news came to the Czar of the invasion of his country, of the scene at Wilna on the arrival of the French troops, and of the many exciting interviews between Napoleon and diplomatists, afford interesting details and invaluable suggestions for the artist, the novelist, and the dramatist. And be the merits or demerits of the work what they may, one thing is certain, that every future historian of the period will find it of incalculable assistance.

Memories of a Student. By ALGERNON TAYLOR. London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1895.

WE are informed by the prefatory note to this work that its first edition was printed for private circulation only. It seems to us that a grievous mistake was made by the friends who "expressed a wish that it should be made accessible to a wider public." But surely it must have been an enemy that did this thing! Such an inconsequent and such a desultory book, containing no special information or matter of particular interest, might be all very well as a present for intimate acquaintances ; but we cannot conceive what kind of "public," to use a modern publisher's term, could care to read it. Beyond a small private circle, we doubt whether much value will be attached to the information that Mr. Algernon Taylor has been a Volunteer, a member of an Archæological Society, a Vegetarian, a Governor of a County Hospital, an anti-Vivisectionist, and a Chairman of a School Board, or that he has lived within his income. Yet we freely admit that his book is a curiosity. He has had a perfect passion for going to church. In his case it does not seem to have been so much a devotion as a monomania. He not only occasionally visited, but "*frequented*," "places of worship belonging to almost every persuasion, Congregational, Baptist, Unitarian, Quaker, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, 'Free Protestant,' Bible Christians, Plymouth Brethren," &c., "seeking out the good that" he believed "was to be found, more or less abundantly, in every Christian body, from the 'Peculiar People' at one end of the scale to those at the opposite end, who, in this vale of trouble and tears, are not above invoking the suffrages of all the Heavenly Host in their fight against the evil around them and within." He delighted in drinking in "comfort and refreshment from resorting to the Divine drama of High Mass as superbly enacted, not only musically but religiously, in one or other

of the London churches"; and nothing pleased him more than to be a guest at some convent abroad, where he could enjoy "the advantage of five daily services." When in Rome, he always went to Mass, and then to hear the canons recite the office in some choir. In a chapter on "High Mass," he goes into raptures upon its charms. We should not quite like to quote from his well-intended descriptions of the more solemn parts of the Mass itself; but his *finale* may give an idea of their style.

The service being ended, you take your departure as the tapers are being, one by one, extinguished, the atmosphere redolent of frankincense, and the organ sounding forth some noble strain. You emerge into the outer air, with a feeling of having participated in (at least) a feast of harmony; the purely musical effects accentuated by lights, aromatic perfume, bright vestments, painting, architecture, and other accessories, such as the grandest of Liturgies (whereof the English Prayer-book is largely a compendium, though with variations and additions) expressed in the most sonorous of human tongues—to say nothing of any definite religious influences, &c.

Definite religious influences, indeed, are exactly what appear to have been most wanting in Mr. Algernon Taylor.

As to religion and things religious, apart from going to church, he has wonderful things to tell us: that "the idea of the Real Presence" is to be found in the writings of St. John Chrysostom; that "the practice of the Church of Rome, by which the Holy Eucharist is made the centre and heart of Divine worship, seems to be also that of the Plymouth Brethren, so far at least as regards their meeting specially for the 'breaking of bread' on each recurring Sunday morning," and that thus "extremes meet"; that St. Francis of Assisi and Wesley both "held what would now be called high-church 'views'"; and that M. Renan interpreted "the philosophy of religion" "in a sense more or less divergent from established usage." Mr. Algernon Taylor's *Memories* end with a chapter on Mathematics and an appendix on the Differential Calculus.

The Comedy of English Protestantism. In Three Acts.
Scene: Exeter Hall, London. *Time*: The Summer of 1893.
 Edited by A. F. MARSHALL, B.A. Oxon. New Revised Edition.
 New York: Benziger Brothers. 1896.

NEW editions of successful books do not demand reviews in detail, and the brilliancy, incisiveness, humour, and force of Mr. Marshall's style is too well known to require any blast of trumpets from the critics. We should like to make every sufficiently-educated

English Protestant read "The Comedy of English Protestantism," and, what is more, we should like to make every sufficiently-educated lay Catholic who lives in Great Britain or Ireland read it. English Catholics are too apt to rest content with their own personal faith, without preparing themselves to defend it; while comparatively few qualify themselves to attack the heresy which surrounds them. Now this little book would educate them for both purposes in an easy, pleasant, and even amusing, manner. If it should lead them to study deeper works, so much the better; but there is many a dry, dull, and ponderous treatise that is not the result of so much learning as this unpretentious little booklet of 238 small pages. It contains some theology, much history, and very much common sense; and all these excellent things are seasoned with that also excellent thing—a good deal of fun.

Un aide dans la douleur. Par l' Auteur des "Avis Spirituels." Huitième édition. Paris: P. Téqui, 29 Rue de Tournon. 1895. 18mo, pp. 696.

A BOOK of devotion for those in affliction, pain, and sorrow, is a distinct want, and it is well filled by this admirable work, which has already reached its eighth edition. More general than Perreyve's "Journée des Malades," it is written not only for the sick but for all in trouble. The chapters on physical sufferings, the crosses of life, adversity, and interior sufferings, are followed by "salutary maxims" (such as the "Tout par amour, rien pour force" of St. François de Sales, "Chi dura vince!" "Rien ne manque à qui Dieu seul suffit" of St. Theresa); "Brief Lessons," "Things useful to know," "Symbols," "Questions to solve," "Motives of confidence," and other divisions, each of which is full of devout and helpful meditations. The examples are, many of them, taken from events and persons known to the author, and are some of them particularly happy. We recommend the book to those who have the grace of suffering.

Ricerche Storiche sopra il B. Bonifacio di Savoia, Arcivescovo di Cantorbery, 1207-1270. By the Rev. JOSEPH STRICKLAND, S.J. Turin. 1895.

THIS monograph, comprising eighty-six pages, appears to be the work of an English member of an Italian Jesuit community, and is a useful contribution to the history of the Church in England

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during the thirteenth century. At that period an Archbishop of Canterbury was a power to be reckoned with, and the story of his pontificate necessarily includes the leading events both in Church and State, in which he was compelled by his position to take a prominent part. The period, moreover, in which Boniface occupied the archiepiscopal throne was a very stirring one, succeeding as he did to the legacy of troubles which had driven St. Edmund to die a broken-hearted exile, whilst his pontificate was prolonged till after the collapse of the barons' revolt at the battle of Evesham.

The author tells us that his chief object in writing this historical sketch is to vindicate Archbishop Boniface from the calumnious aspersions of his contemporary, Matthew Paris. As long as M. Paris held the field as the chronicler *par excellence*, his gibes against the papal administration enjoyed wide currency and implicit credence on the part of those who sympathised with him; but since a flood of light has been thrown on the subject by the publication of registers, letters, and other contemporary annals, no student of history would attach any credence to Paris' intemperate denunciations unless they are corroborated by independent evidence. In fact, Paris bears witness against himself by the corrected edition of his chronicle which he made in the later years of his life, and in which he suppressed or toned down the grosser misrepresentations of the first edition.

Still Fr. Strickland deems that even in the revised edition the Archbishop is treated with manifest injustice, and proceeds to vindicate him on all the points of accusation with which Paris charges him. To accomplish his task, the author has recourse to the most authentic sources, namely, Berger's Register of Innocent IV., Royal Letters, and contemporary monastic annals. The result of his careful and accurate researches is completely to exonerate Boniface from the charges which Paris brings against him, and to justify the estimate which was passed upon him by Wykes, who was also the Archbishop's contemporary, and survived him some years. His testimony is the more significant as that of a monk, who, therefore, might be supposed to share the prejudices of M. Paris. He thus sums up his character :

He was a man of wonderful simplicity, though not very learned; he lived soberly and directed himself by the advice of the most discreet; he was humble, pure, modest, and a most lavish benefactor of the poor.

The author gives an outline of his career drawn from authentic sources, and shows him to have been an able administrator, a firm supporter of ecclesiastical discipline, and, though a foreigner, he from the very first placed himself at the head of the patriotic party, who were pledged to resist the encroachments of the King on the civil and

religious liberties of his subjects. Boniface was a younger son of the Count of Savoy. Early in life he entered the Carthusian order, but whilst still in the novitiate was made Bishop of Belley. In 1241 he was elected to the See of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of St. Edmund, at the instance of his niece, Queen Eleanor; but he did not receive the papal confirmation until 1243. He had scarcely landed in England when he was engaged in a struggle with Henry III. on behalf of St. Richard, whom the King sought to exclude from the See of Chichester. The King bitterly reproached the Archbishop for his ingratitude for thus opposing him after he had procured his election. But in this and in other controversies Boniface opposed an unyielding front to the Royal pretensions. He found the diocese burdened with an enormous debt amounting to 15,000 marks. M. Paris has the effrontery to say that this debt was fictitious and was used as a pretext to levy money for sinister purposes. But the debt was proved in the Papal Court, as is shown by a bull dated August 27, 1245. Indeed the facts were too palpable. From the death of Archbishop Langton in 1228 to the election of Boniface in 1243, the See had been vacant six years, which meant that it was exposed all that time to the pillage of the King and his courtiers, whilst St. Edmund during the whole of his seven years' pontificate was engaged in a ruinous litigation with the Christ Church monks, with other monastic bodies, and with the barons who had plundered his domains. No one knew these facts better than Matthew Paris, and it is impossible to acquit him of bad faith in making this accusation.

B. Boniface showed his zeal and capacity not only for the temporal, but also the spiritual administration of the province committed to his charge. He resolved to carry out a visitation of his suffragan bishops and their dioceses. He, however, met with a determined resistance on the part of the bishops and the various capitular bodies. Here again M. Paris traduces the Archbishop's motives, grossly exaggerates the conflicts which took place, and falsely accuses him of unseemly violence. In making this visitation Boniface was assisted by the illustrious Franciscan, Adam Marsh.

The Life of Sir Henry Halford, Bart., G.C.H., M.D., F.R.S.,
 President of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to
 George III., George IV., William IV., and to Her Majesty
 Queen Victoria. By WILLIAM MUNK, M.D., F.S.A., Fellow and
 late Vice-president of the Royal College of Physicians of London.
 London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. 284 pp.

SIIR HENRY HALFORD would seem to have been singularly smiled upon by fortune in his professional career.

His birth in 1766 as second of the seven sons of James Vaughan, M.D., practising physician at Leicester, of an honourable, if not illustrious family, tracing its descent from William Vaughan F.R.C.S., doctor of medicine of Leyden and Cambridge (died 1712), was hardly such as to justify any unusually great expectations. His education, at Rugby, Oxford, Edinburgh, and under his father at Leicester, was indeed thorough; Dr. Vaughan, we are told, thinking it better to give his sons a liberal education than to leave them accumulated wealth at his death. Having set up at Scarborough, Henry Vaughan was advised, despite, or perhaps because of, his successful *début*, to remove to London.

Funds were wanting, but fortune, in the shape of his "friend and patient, Lady Apreece" advanced £1000, wherewith he set up in Mayfair in 1793. Elected physician to the Middlesex Hospital in that year, and Fellow of the College of Physicians in the next, sworn physician-extraordinary to the King before he had been a year in London, life seems to have been for him a series of successes from this time forward. The record of his professional receipts, rising steadily from £164 in 1793 to £9850 in 1809, and known to have been regularly over £10,000 for many subsequent years, bears witness to his successes.

When summoned in 1806 to the Duchess of Devonshire's bedside, Vaughan alone of all the doctors was correct in his diagnosis of her case; with what a painful interest does one read the details of the miserable disease that carried off the original of Gainsborough's lovely portraits! "From this time," as we learn through Lady Halford, on almost the only occasion that her name appears in these pages, "the door bell in Curzon Street was rarely still;" one of the patients thus attracted being the statesman, Charles James Fox. It was not long before the fortunate physician was in regular attendance upon the Prince of Wales, then the King and well-nigh the whole royal family, whilst amongst throngs of other distinguished names under his treatment appear those of Wilberforce, Warren Hastings, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Pitt, and the Earl of Chatham.

The fact that Sir Henry Halford, although not until ten years later President of the College of Physicians, should have been consulted by Lord Palmerston in 1810 as to the amount of the sum which it would be proper for him to recommend to the Treasury to be offered to Dr. Blanc as a remuneration for his trouble in undertaking an expedition to Walcheren for the purpose of reporting upon the state of Lord Chatham's army, speaks for itself as to his place in public opinion.

His elder brother being dead, Dr. Vaughan succeeded in 1814 to the Halford estate of Wistow (his maternal grandmother had been a Halford), having previously to this assumed the name of Halford, and been created Baronet as a mark of royal favour.

In the spring of 1813 [says Mr. Munk] an event of some historical interest occurred, in which Sir Henry Halford was called upon to play an important part. This was the opening of the coffin of Charles I. with a view to its identification.

An interesting account follows, abridged from Sir Henry's own manuscript :

It was found after the coffin of King Charles had been soldered up, that the portion of the vertebra which had been cut through and had separated from the neck escaped restoration to the coffin which His Royal Highness (Prince Regent) then presented to Sir Henry Halford. . . . Its existence in Sir Henry's possession became known and was somewhat severely commented upon.

The present representative of the family, Sir Henry St. John Halford not feeling quite at ease in its possession, sought an interview with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and restored it to his hands.

Sir Henry was much trusted and confided in by the Royal Family :

He was actively engaged, in 1815, in the attempt to bring about a reconciliation between Queen Charlotte and the Duke of Cumberland, who had displeased her by his marriage. Sir Henry, too, was the medium of communication between the Prince Regent and the Princess Charlotte in all that related to her marriage with the Prince of Orange.

He felt bound to refuse the request of Princess Amelia that he should act as mediator between her royal father and herself on the subject of secret marriage to Colonel Fitzroy. The Duke of Cumberland was apparently a constant correspondent.

When William IV. died in Sir Henry Halford's absence, and the latter, owing to his relations with the Queen, seems to have hesitated as to what course to pursue, His Royal Highness writes :

I hope you will excuse an old and sincere friend observing to you the propriety of your going down to Windsor, if only to inquire after the Queen Excuse this, but attribute it to true friendship.

Later, as King of Hanover, he writes :

Oh, how often do I sigh after dear Kew and my little cottage there. There is a great deal of glory but little enjoyment in a king's life, and as Duke of Cumberland I was much happier, and more my own master than I now shall ever be again.

Among the physician's warm friends was Wellington, and the following note strikes the reader as peculiarly characteristic of the Iron Duke :

You have only to persevere in your own judicious course. Pay no attention to observations from the right or from the left, and you may rely upon it that there is not a good or a judicious man in the country who will not do you justice.

Sir Henry Halford was a great classical scholar and a fluent speaker, and he has strongly expressed his opinion on the vexed question of how much or how little patients should be told concerning their condition. The volume is pleasant reading, and a correspondence, including letters confidential, official, or otherwise, signed by so many famous names, whilst putting us pleasantly in touch with the times, may justify Mr. Munk's plea for his book as a page of social history.

M. C.

Lettres de l'Abbé Henri Perreyve. 1850-1865. Sixième Edition. Augmentée de plusieurs lettres. 1896. Paris : P. Téqui. Pp. 507.

A NEW edition of this book, so widely known amongst Catholics, scarcely needs much comment.

Amongst the additional letters is one to the Comte de Montalembert, in which the writer seems to reveal the keynote of his life. Having spoken of the trials which beset a priest he says :

Je n'ai pour me rassurer contre ces périls et ma faiblesse qu'un seul sentiment : celui d'être sans peur et sans ambition.

For those who do not know the previous editions of the work may be mentioned the letters to Pére Lacordaire, the Abbé de la Boussière, the Comte de Montalembert, the Abbé Germain, and many others, amongst which are the charming letters to a young man in the world—"un ami d'enfance" whom the young Abbé endeavoured to influence for good, and a delightful "lettre de première Communion," to a little cousin about to make it.

The additions are partly "Pensées," and partly letters to various correspondents.

M. C.

Code de Procédure canonique dans les Causes Matrimoniales. Par M. l'Abbé G. PERIES, Docteur en droit canon. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette.

THE author of this volume pursues, together with many others in France and elsewhere, what he calls the "Codification of Ecclesiastical Laws." There is no question of overthrowing the sacred legislation, but of releasing it from the encumbrances of a superannuated form. "The only change which we claim," he says, "ultimately comes to the introduction into canon law of a more scientific and at the same time a more simple apparatus." In the work before us the author has made an application of his ideas to the canonical process to be followed in matrimonial cases, and he exposes very methodically in twenty-four chapters and 530 short articles whatever is scattered about in the various sources of canon law concerning the legislation of matrimony. An explanation is added to every such article which seems to require it.

The first part of the volume contains five chapters, and describes the dispositions generally to be observed in all matrimonial trials; the officials constituting the ecclesiastical court; their attributions and functions; the proceedings and working of the court.

In the second part are examined the causes which may give rise to judicial proceedings; they are chiefly the diriment impediments: age, impotency, &c. Impediments merely impedient are only to be considered here in so far as they concern a marriage to be contracted and the questions, for instance, of espousals, of mixed religion, of the consent of parents, &c., which might become the object of a judgment (1st section).

Another source for legal proceedings are the defects in the marriage consent, *i.e.*, the absence of sufficient discretion, error, conditional consent, &c. (2nd section).

The third source is the non-observation of the form of marriage, as laid down by the Council of Trent, Sess., xxiv. chapter Tametsi (3rd section).

The last source is divorce either *quoad ipsum vinculum* or *quoad separationem à toro* (4th section).

The xxivth chapter is an appendix concerning espousals.

Ecclesiastical officials who have to deal with matrimonial causes will find this work very handy and useful and, in general, priests wishing to revise that part of their theology which treats of the impediments will find it a very elaborate compendium.

The author's chief guide in composing his volume has been the most valuable work of Mgr. Gasparri: *Tractatus Canonicus de*

Matrimonio, in 2 vols., a work which we cannot sufficiently recommend to the perusal and study of the clergy.

A Short History of the Catholic Church in England. Catholic Truth Society. 1895. 8vo, pp. 502.

THE publication of this excellent history has greatly added to the debt which we already owe the Catholic Truth Society.

In five hundred well-written and well-printed pages we are given a summary of the fortunes of the Catholic faith in this island, which, though concise and simple (as the Bishop of Clifton remarks in the Preface), is at once accurate, fair, and eminently readable.

It is also thoroughly up to date; the writings of Dom Gasquet on the "Black Death," of Canon Moyes on the "Statutes of Provisors" and *Præmuniare* in the *Tablet*, the late Fr. Morris' statistics and facts as to "Catholic England in Modern Times," and other recent publications are made good use of; while the book ends very appropriately with a notice of Leo XIII.'s Encyclical "*Ad Anglos*."

The writer has not shrunk from showing the seamy side of English Church life before the Reformation, and the chapter on the "Grievances of the Church in England" is a model of plain-speaking tempered by discretion and that breadth of view which characterises those who look on that Church as only a part of a great organism commensurate with the civilised world.

If we have a few complaints to make, they are only suggested in the hope that in future editions the book may be made even yet more useful and practical. A very serious fault in such a work is the want of an index, and the paucity of references is also greatly to be regretted. If these could not be added in every place, at least a list of authorities consulted should be inserted.

There are one or two details in which the conciseness necessarily aimed at by the writer has led to too positive statements about disputed points. We do not think, for instance, that it is proved that the Carthusian martyrs ever did acknowledge the Royal Supremacy (p. 131). Dona Hendricks in his "History of the London Charterhouse" argues forcibly against a view which seems to make much of their subsequent history unintelligible. Again, in the story of "St. Etheldreda" (p. 60), it would have been well to state that she had made a vow of perpetual virginity with the consent of her husband, otherwise her conduct seems unjustifiable.

On page 128 the legend as to the origin of the Feast of the Conception of our Lady is given, but no notice is taken of the disproof of

this legend, and the real facts of the case as given in some admirable articles by Mr. Bishop in the *Downside Review*. The tradition as to the fate of the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury is also untrustworthy, and so, we think, is the horrible story of the outrage offered by Anne Bullen to B. John Fisher's head. It would have been well too to point out that the Benedictine Abbots were martyred for the Papal Supremacy, not merely for resisting the king's desire to seize their Abbeys. At least the former was the pretext, though the king's love of spoil no doubt suggested pressing the "perilous questions" of their loyalty to Rome. It is not quite correct to say that *all* those who were tried with B. Campion were found guilty and suffered accordingly at Tyburn; for Colleton was acquitted on an *alibi*, Bosgrave, Orton, and Rishton were never martyred. The place of St. Edmund of Canterbury's death is usually written Soisy, and Cadwallador was the name of the martyr here called Cadwaller, which is a form we have never met with. (It is written Kadwalidor in the manuscript relations of his death at Oscott). But these trifling misprints are the only ones we have noticed. In conclusion, we may add that though the tone of the book is not controversial, there a few excellent notes which give in a nutshell the answer to some current errors. We may specify for instance that on the phrase *alterius orbis papa*, and that on St. Gregory's condemnation of the title of Universal Bishop.

The noticeable omissions are few, but we should have liked a few words about the venerable English College at Rome, and we think it is a mistake to have so completely passed over the sad dissensions between English Catholics during the latter years of Elizabeth and the subsequent reign. We want truth before edification in a history of the Church, and these dissensions hold the key of many a problem.

In conclusion, we wish every success to this latest venture of the Catholic Truth Society.

D. B. C

The History and Fate of Sacrilege. By SIR HENRY SPELMAN. With an Introductory Essay by Two Priests of the Church of England. 4th Edition: With an Appendix bringing the Work up to the Present Date. By the Rev. G. F. S. WARREN, M.A. *Catholic Standard Library.* John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand. 1895.

THIS interesting work, after passing through many vicissitudes, is now incorporated in the "Catholic Standard Library," and reissued at the price of 12s. It may seem to some readers but a gloomy catalogue of crime and misfortune, affecting the families of three-quarters of the aristocracy and gentry of England, and even attainting the Crown. But it is well to recognise this great evil in our midst—that disease, of which the great Niebuhr long ago declared England to be sick, in order that a cure may be found. We do not think there was ever a more direct manifestation of the finger of God and a more rapid following of punishment on crime than is contained in the narratives of this book.

Sir Henry Spelman was a Norfolk landowner, who had suffered much himself from the possession of two sites of abbeys, but which he gave up in 1612, and "hereby first discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places."

Sir Henry then began to collect information respecting the fate of impropriations until his death in 1634, when his papers were entrusted to the Rev. Jeremy Stephens. After the great rebellion the printing of the work was commenced, but its publication was forbidden, as giving offence to the nobility and gentry; subsequently many parts of the MSS. perished in the fire of London, but a transcript of the "Remains" was discovered by Bishop Gibson in the Bodleian Library. Prudential reasons again prevented the publication of Spelman's "Remains;" but in 1698 an unknown editor, calling himself "a less discreet person than Mr. Gibson" (who attained three bishoprics in the Anglican Church), at last published the work, of which he had become possessed of a true copy, declaring—"he will e'en let the world make what use of it they please." The original title-page describes it as "The History of Sacrilege from the Beginning of the World Continually to this Day." It was re-edited with an introductory essay by two "Priests of the Church of England" in 1846.

The researches of the worthy knight, though unpublished during his life, yet made a great impression on his contemporaries, and, following his example, many of the gentry of Norfolk and other parts, and some Oxford colleges, gave up large portions of their estates on learning that they were impropriations. While living in London Sir

Henry was consulted every term by those who were doubtful of their rights to the land.

The "History of Sacrilege" is traced from the Old Testament records, from that of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Heathen nations down to the Christian Era, but becomes, of course, most manifest under the rule of Henry VIII. and after the Reformation so-called.

Nothing is more remarkable than the horror of sacrilege displayed by the ancient heathen nations, especially by the Greek authors, and the penalties they describe as following it.

There is a remarkable similarity in the misfortunes of the families here mentioned, and the frequency of the changing of owners of such ill-gotten lands. The failure of heirs male, and consequent extinction of families, the numerous violent deaths, crimes, and visible judgments following on them, can hardly be accidental. A few passages occur, in which sacrilege is wrongly ascribed, owing to the Anglican bias of the author and editors of 1846—as on p. 97, when Clement VII. is accused of this crime, in giving a licence to Cardinal Wolsey to suppress forty monasteries in order to build his own college; the Pope's punishment is alleged to be the sacking of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon and the imprisonment and flight of the Pope—for they are in ignorance of the power of the keys and of the authority of Christ's Vicar to bind and loose. But with these few exceptions the book is wonderfully impartial in its tone.

The appendix, giving an alphabetical list of the mitred abbeys and a complete index, make it a useful book of historical reference, and it should be found on the shelf of every library.

A. A. M. W.

Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., Diary and Letters: Transcribed and edited by his daughter, MARJORY BONAR. Hodder and Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row.

THIS diary of a minister of the Presbyterian Free Church, carried on for nearly sixty years, is interesting as giving a faithful portrait of the religious life, belief, and growth of a soul, within the narrow limitations of this sect, from which his ideas were never permitted to stray, and the spiritual level to which it is possible for such an undoubtedly earnest and humble soul to attain in it during a lifetime devoted to what he believed to be the service of God. It is a monotonous record perhaps: accounts of prayer-meetings, supposed revivals, inward introspections of religious feelings, to which great importance is given. But the greatest stress is laid on the need of prayer all

through the book ; this truth seems to be the principle of his life and teaching. Much anxiety is expressed also about his preaching and its visible effects, and reports brought to him of some "conversions" wrought by his words are noted down with an almost wistful gratification, although we cannot fail to notice that it is nearly always a woman, generally "a young woman," sometimes a boy, who "gets views on sinfulness" at his words. He notes sorrowfully at the end of his life in 1891 :

February 7th. Much humbled in reviewing my ministry to find how many of the young men of my congregation have been to this day unconverted. I tried to set a "full Christ" before them always, but I fear that I failed to wrestle in prayer in their behalf. It is a sore fact in my ministry.

Some light is thrown on what is intended by Communion in the Scottish Church, and what they expect to gain by it ; and no doubt graces of spiritual communion were given to this prayerful soul, for he speaks of

getting near views of Christ [in Communion], and we were like people sitting on the banks of a river, calmly enjoying ourselves, and receiving an order afterwards to rise and work (1885).

The first chapter tells us of the three years preceding what he calls "his conversion ;" of the heart-searchings as to whether he was "in Christ" or "out of Christ ;" whether he could feel the peculiar symptoms that he was "saved ;" envy at his friends "getting in" before him ; " vexation at my coldness ;" "awful struggles in my soul ;" and finally he awakes one morning after a dream, "saved——"

and suddenly the thought of Christ's love to me, and His work for me, rushed into my mind. I was filled with the joy of complete salvation, which took away all my fear.

A process almost inexplicable to a Catholic. This satisfied him that he could now try for the ministry. His pastoral work lay in Callace and Glasgow for nearly sixty years, and closed only at his death in 1892. Some of his confessions are touching in their sincerity, such as:

A strange flood of sorrow and vexation, from earthly cisterns being dry to me, often comes upon me on Saturday and Sabbath. It is plain I have not learned to place Christ in the room of all things.

A deep striving after a personal love and union with Christ is visible all through the book. Sometimes happier moments come, days on which he notes, "Got a light." He early embraced views of the nearness of the millennium, and took a great interest in the conversion of the

Jews. He believed in fasting, for as well as the half-yearly fasts enjoined by the Free Church, he notes :

I began last year the custom of private fasts, and never have I found more answers to direct petitions than since then.

Sep. 21, 1864. Was able to fast and spend the day till nearly four o'clock in prayer and confession.

I suppose mental confession is meant, for, although he had read "Augustine," he appears never to have given a thought to any Catholic doctrine. It is remarkable that although he was a contemporary of our two great convert cardinals, and must have heard of the Catholic revival in England, the only mention he makes of things Catholic is the note at the beginning of his ministry :

Much encouraged by finding in my district that a Roman Catholic woman gives evidence of a real change, and ascribes her conversion to me as the instrument. She spoke with the deepest feeling of gratitude I ever remember such expressing.

Query, could she have been Irish? and was it just "a bit of blarney"? One year, too, he notes dangers threatening from "the invasions of Popery," 1856.

His end was peaceful, in December 1891—not surprising when he could write, a few months before,

Have been passing within the veil in my thoughts, and fancying the meeting I may soon have with these (departed ministers) when we sit at the table there, reclining, like John, on Christ's bosom.

The phraseology is Puritanical throughout, and nearly all the texts and allusions are drawn from the Old Testament, and he likes to call himself "a Levite." The value of the book is its sincerity; it is a modern "Pilgrim's Progress," but the marvel remains that such a belief could remain untouched by any influences of the 19th century, and that so much real devotion could attain no higher creed.

A. A. M. W.

Studies in Church History. By the REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.
Vol. II. (Centuries ix.-xiv.). Pustet & Co, New York and
Cincinnati. 1895.

THIS is a continuation of a scholarly and useful work. Under the modest title of "Studies," the author really manages to give the main facts of Church History as a whole. And while a series of detached essays—connected as these are merely by their chrono-

logical order—necessarily lacks something of the picturesqueness and detail of continuous narrative, compensation may be found in the greater concentration of light on points of vital importance. These Studies somewhat resemble the "Dissertationes" of Professor Jungmann, but are more markedly "apologetic" in character and purpose. In the method of treatment less room is given to quotation and examination of original sources, and more to summarising of facts and results, and to the bringing together of views and opinions from all sides in the cause of the Church. The present volume deals with the Middle Ages, and embraces the period extending from the revival of the Western Empire under Charlemagne to the end of the Western Schism. The extent of ground traversed may be appreciated, when it is stated that the number of Studies in the volume is forty-one and that the subjects include not only such necessary *pièces de résistance* as the Greek Schism, the False Decretals, the Inquisition, Pontificates of the more famous Popes, and Digests of General Councils, but also such matters of special interest as the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, Clerical Celibacy, the Right of the Pope to depose Sovereigns, and the Cause of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as well as historic estimates of such different characters as Abelard, Dante, Rienzi, and Wyclif. Long as the list is, however, it might with advantage have been longer—made more complete, that is, by such matters as the work of the Mendicant Orders, or Scholasticism, or England's relations with the Holy See. Then, too, instead of limited subjects like "the comparison of S. Leo IX. with Pius IX.," the "Truce of God," and the so-called deposition of John XII—important as these are in themselves—we should have much preferred the larger questions of the historic position of the Temporal Power itself, the relations between the Church and the feudal system in all its aspects, and the whole treatment of the charges made against the latter Popes of the tenth century. But the selection of subjects has, doubtless, been made to suit the author's own purpose, just as the limitations in their treatment are due to his avowed desire to avoid theological discussions and too much "profane history." It is for this latter reason, at any rate, that in his account of Innocent III.'s Pontificate he declines to consider that Pope in his relations with *Magna Charta*—though we think inadvisedly, as this point is still constantly misrepresented by our enemies in their attacks on the Church. Again, though the author generally alludes to the original literature of the respective subjects, his references to it are often bare and indiscriminate. Liudprand, Witikind, Hermann "Contractus," Anastasius, Otho of Frisingen, Ivo of Chartres, Nicetas, Procopius, "Walden," &c., are names of varied historical merit and importance;

and yet they are merely names to the ordinary reader. Even students would have found it an advantage, we think, to have the chief original authorities placed at the head of each "Study," with a brief account of them and their respective values. The author's treatment, however, of the many and varied quotations from after-writers is generally both full and critical; and in his remarks on Gibbon's incapacity to understand the Church of the Middle Ages, or on Hallam's inadequacy of appreciation, or Sismondi's and Mosheim's misrepresentations, or the Gallican propensities of Maimbourg and Fleury, or the occasional "minimisations" of our own Lingard, or even the shortcomings of the great Bossuet himself—he seems equally discriminating and just. The tone of the work is admirable—at once loyally Catholic and fearlessly candid. In style the author aims neither at elegance nor eloquence, but is wisely content with clearness of statement, calmness of judgment, plainness of argument, and fulness of information. Though the essays are not all of equal merit, in none of them is there any superfluous writing; whatever would be beside the point is vigorously excluded. These qualities make the volume equally useful, whether considered as a plain up-to-date *Apologia* for the Mediæval Church, or as a concise summary of evidence and opinions on historic questions of moment, or, finally, as a foundation for a more detailed study of Church History itself. As regards the editing, there are a few mistakes which, though not serious, are irritating; as, for instance, when the author canonises Lanfranc and Peter Lombard (p. 7), or speaks of "Kempten in Switzerland" (p. 11), or alludes to Ado of Vienne as "Ado of Vienna" (p. 49), or to Lupus of Ferrières as "Lupus of Ferrara" (p. 48), or spells names of persons and places, such as Lothair, Frisingen, now in one way now in another. There is some excuse for this in a book of 600 pages, where hosts of names occur: yet it is a disfigurement which should be carefully removed in a further edition. There is a useful chronological table at the end of the book, but there is no index; the author probably intends making a general one for the whole work when it is complete. We may add that the printing and general style of the book are excellent.

J. H.

Dictionnaire Grec-Français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Eglise Grecque. Par CLUGNET (LEON). Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1895.

THE object of this little work is well explained in the few modest words which preface it, and which may be thus summed up :

The liturgical books of the Greek Church are but little known in Western Europe. One reason, it may be, is the difficulty in obtaining them; but if they have been rare, this is no longer the case. Besides the reprints from the presses of the schismatics at Venice, Constantinople, Athens, Smyrna, &c., the propaganda has begun an edition which will be the *editio typica* for Greco-Hellenic Catholics. Any one who knows ancient Greek can read them easily, and a very slight acquaintance with modern Greek will be enough for the understanding of the rubrics which in some recently printed volumes are given in this tongue. The only difficulty lies in the existence in the rubrics, old or new, of certain terms, the liturgical meaning of which is not to be found in lexicons in current use; some of the words are not to be found, or are to be found explained incorrectly, even in Goar or Ducange; besides these books, cumbersome in themselves, are not to be found in all libraries (even public, it may be added). It is to meet such difficulty that the present small dictionary has been drawn up. To obtain a definition, exact and sure, of some terms, I have often had to read the printed books through and consult Greeks possessing a thorough practical acquaintance with the ceremonies of their rite.

The object in view, then, is simply and solely to facilitate an acquaintance with the Greek liturgical books, not merely on the part of the "learned," but on the part of commonly intelligent men also. It may be asked: And of what use is this? The author gives a reply to the question which should be sufficient to Catholics who love their religion, and are alive to what is going on around them :

It is now a long time ago that we in the West have ceased to interest ourselves in the rites of a Church which is separated from the great Catholic family. But there are many circumstances which make such an attitude no longer excusable. Most of these reasons to move us are strictly religious; and among them must be counted in the forefront those aspirations, secret or openly avowed, which seem to urge the schismatic Greeks towards the Latin Church (or rather, urge them to look towards the Chair of Peter); again, the efforts of the supreme pastor, Pope Leo XIII., tending towards the return of the strayed sheep to the fold; and finally, a newly awakened activity among the Greeks who have remained Catholic, inducing them to come forth from the obscurity in which poverty and persecution, combined with the paucity of their numbers, have so long kept them. But if Latin Catholics be anxious and impatient to see the Greek Church return to the salutary guidance of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, they must not content themselves with merely looking on at a distance, but must themselves help forward the good cause. Now perhaps the very best means of overcoming the

prejudices and susceptibilities of the Easterns of the Greek rite is to show that we take a sincere and lively interest in all that they respect and revere, and in particular in their ancient and beautiful liturgy. Moreover, the Latin will himself derive a very great advantage from a real knowledge of the Greek liturgy, and will thereby the better understand his own.

Such being the author's aim and intention, he has set himself to work in a plain and practical way; those who use his book will not be troubled or confused by any parade of cheap learning, silently and easily borrowed from Ducange or Suicer or Sophocles. There is none of it, but only a simple, and at the same time sufficiently full, and, as far as possible, exact explanation of the meaning and use of each technical term. At the end is an index of French equivalents with the Greek word under which the explanation is given in the dictionary itself.

It is to be hoped that the book will be used by many persons who have for one reason or another neglected these particular studies, or even, it may be, looked at them askance as something like a waste of time. And it is to be desired for reasons of practical moment, as well those touched on by the author as for others, that the general ignorance in regard to these matters be dissipated. Ignorance, as we know, is the fruitful mother of superstition. In the preface of even a writer so well-intentioned, and so personally desirous of overcoming ignorance, as M. Clugnet, there are still traces of such superstition. "N'est ce pas chez elles (that is in the Greek Liturgy) que le Latin retrouvera les formes les plus anciennes de la plupart des rites en usage dans les Eglises Occidentales?" he exclaims. This thesis has been unquestionably dinned into our ears, especially in England, often enough. But before accepting it there seems to be need of a good deal of the process known as "distinction." The "unchanging East" is, indeed, a proverbial expression; and it is true that from the seventh century the Anatolian Church (to use the happy expression of a recent Protestant writer on the subject) has been much like a fossil. But if facts have any meaning, its previous conservatism can be allowed only with very large reservations. In spite of all the wonderful things reported of the "Liturgy of St. James," to say nothing of the "Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari," time and study bring home only more and more strongly to the mind that, as regards "primitivism" in ecclesiastical rites, there are circles apt to be superstitious in regard to the East, and unduly depreciatory in regard to the West. The guidance of good sense is above all things needed in these studies. In going somewhat out of the way to take exception to an incidental expression in M. Clugnet's preface, it

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should also be stated that he has distinctly allowed himself to be guided by good sense throughout his book as a whole.

E. B.

Hariulf. Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint Riquier (V^e siècle—1104). Publiée par FERDINAND LOT, ancien ÉLÈVE DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES ET DES HAUTES ÉTUDES. Collection de Texte pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire. Paris: Alph. Picard et Fils. 1894.

THE chronicle of Hariulfus has hitherto been unfortunate. “Bouquet” gave only fragments; it was for him too local in character. “Pertz” has regarded it (why it would be hard to say) as outside his range. And so it has come about that until M. F. Lot’s edition there was nothing better than the text originally printed from an indifferent copy, by Dacheri in 1665, the improved text in the second edition of the “Spicilegium,” and Migne’s reprint. Meantime the autograph manuscript, which contained a highly curious view of the abbey in the eighth century, has been burnt.

Centules, or as it was afterwards called from the founder, Saint Riquier, the history of which is narrated by Hariulfus, was one of those monasteries founded more or less under Irish influence, in which through the action, direct or indirect, of Luxeuil, the Benedictine rule was introduced alongside of Irish observance and very soon superseded it. The greatness of the house really begins in the later years of the eighth century with the abbacy of Angilbert, the friend and intimate of Charlemagne, who may be said in a way, and after the fashion somewhat of that court, to have been his son-in-law. By Angilbert the monastery was raised to a pitch of splendour almost unrivalled; and in the generation or so following his death it becomes an interesting example of a “royal abbey,” and its “abbats” are to be traced in the most curious manner through the genealogical tree of the imperial family. The fourth and last book is mainly concerned with the history of the house in the eleventh century, with which the author or men whom he knew had personal acquaintance. A second book, devoted to Angilbert’s administration, is of the highest interest, from the authentic documents drawn up by that abbat himself which are embodied in it; so the fourth abounds with curious and authentic notices, illustrative of contemporary manners.

One or two of these incidents concern England, where Abbat

Gervinus I. (1045–1071) had been received with favour by “Het-guardus, king of the English,” who was most bountiful to him and his monastery in all their need. Hariulf records an anecdote of Queen Edith, daughter of Earl Godwin, not recorded in the contemporary Life of St. Edward by an adherent and panegyrist of the Queen’s family. One day, it was at a time when Gervinus was new to English manners and customs, coming to court on his own beneficial interests intent, the Queen, “Edith by name,” tendered him the customary kiss of salutation and peace. Gervinus started back shocked, but only to be the more astonished by the way in which the Queen took it—as a downright insult. To her it was the case of a Queen being spurned by a monk; and she withdrew the presents ready at hand and destined for him. St. Edward, by his education and long residence abroad acquainted with foreign ways, hastened to explain to the Queen that to Gervinus it appeared a question of morals not of manners. Edith seized the situation, and thus enlightened was easily pacified, and gave Gervinus a superb amice marvellously adorned with gold and precious stones. The chronicler adds that she now animadverted on the singular want of delicacy on the part of the bishops and abbots, her own countrymen, and was highly edified at Gervinus. This is the chronicler’s gloss, which may or may not be correct; where edification is concerned, a person brought up in one atmosphere is so often wrong as to the real impressions derived by those who are brought up in another. It may be as well to add a word or two further on the fate of the amice. “The abbat brought it home and laid it up in the treasury of our Church.” But the diocesan, Guido, Bishop of Amiens (who is connected with England as the author of the versified narrative “*De Prælio Hastingensi*”), was so delighted with it when he saw it, that nothing would do but he must have it; the affair was arranged; the bishop carried off the amice and the abbat took in exchange for it two good parish churches of the bishops and their dues. History does not record whether Queen Edith ever heard of the transaction, and whether she was edified by it; but the chronicler has taken care to insert in his book the bishop’s charter, from which it may really be gathered that he was at the time in a very good temper.

Another incident that is related occurred when already “Het-guardus, king of the English, having happily run his course through this mortal life, has passed, as it is believed, into eternal glory.” It gives from the lips or the pen of an eyewitness a scene such as must have occurred over and over again in the years immediately succeeding the battle of Hastings, but which is hardly to be found elsewhere

recorded. It was in the second year of the reign of William of Normandy, and Abbat Gervinus wished to obtain from the Conqueror confirmation of the gifts obtained if not from, at least in the reign of, the Confessor, and certainly by his favour and patronage; * also the abbat desired to survey those goodly bits of property which he had picked up among us. So he started for the coast and came to "the place the country folk call Guizant" (Wissant); arrived, he found plenty of companions for his passage: "there were more than a hundred abbats and monks, besides a host of military men and bag-men" (*plurima multitudo militarium virorum et negotiatorum*). All were in a hurry to be off, for beyond was the prize; and then, as at a date nearer our own times, one emphatic if not strictly grammatical expression summed up the feelings which our land inspired: "Oh! what for plunder!" The motley company got on board, but then, as now, there was, as a mere preliminary, a difficulty in the way that was the cause of much sinking of heart:

It was then the month of February, and as usual the wind blew a very hurricane; the rain drenched the traveller or the snow blinded him. The sea raged furiously and continued without abatement. Fifteen days passed and still there was no sign of abatement of the tempest; we despaired of being able to embark again; moreover our stock of provisions ran low, and we could remain waiting no longer.

So the company made up their minds to return ignominiously home. How Gervinus helped himself and all out of their troubles may be read in the chronicler at length. Suffice it to say that he offered one great wax torch to the archangel Michael, one to St. Nicholas (an interesting early instance of this cultus), and a third he reserved and destined for St. Margaret the Martyr to be offered the saint in "a church which she possessed on the other side of the water." The next day they all passed over on a calm and tranquil sea, "and disembarking from their ships they seek the church of the aforesaid martyr, and having given thanks and offered the torch, they all disperse, and each man (as if to make up now for lost time) hurried off, *velox*, each on his own concern." Gervinus obtained his charter of confirmation from William. Hariulf preserves its text, and highly curious it is, describing as it does a pretty bit of typography very useful for comparison of Domesday Book. As M. Lot can only say

* Freeman ("Norman Conquest," vol. ii. Appendix, note D) gives in full from Hariulf the anecdote as to Queen Edith, detailed above, and notes the original Lappenberg as being ignorant of it, and Thorpe's Lappenberg for inaccuracy. From the words which immediately follow, "Saint Riquier does not appear to have held lands in England in Eadward's time," it can only be gathered that Freeman cannot have read Hariulf himself.

that the places mentioned were "en Angleterre," it may be stated that the property acquired by St. Riquier, which was of considerable extent, lay in Norfolk. I have identified only Sculthorpe, Pickenham, and one of the "Acres." The "Church of St. Margaret" is, there can be no reasonable doubt, the parish Church of King's Lynn, whence some years later Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, established a cell to his cathedral monastery. By the time of the Domesday Survey St. Riquier held in England only a small estate, newly acquired, it would seem, at Palgrave, and had disposed of all the rest, and at least spared an item in the long and diversified history of alien priories in England. The whole episode has been overlooked by local antiquaries and deserves a detailed investigation in the pages of the Norfolk archaeology.

But it is time to turn to the new edition of the chronicle. M. Lot's *Introduction* of seventy pages is substantial; his recension of Hariulf's sources is thoroughly good, and without the generally distressing heaviness of the German preface of the same character. There are (as indicated below) a few reserves to make, of interest only to the very small number of persons concerned with the technicalities of work of this kind. The manuscript material available for constituting the text is poor; that, however, is not the fault of the editor, who has done the most that is possible with what exists; but in the account of the manuscripts (pp. lvii.-lxx.) he is wanting in clearness and might well imitate many a business-like German model. The annotations are fairly sufficient; and there are good appendices (as to No. vi. see below). Where so much care has evidently been taken and competence shown, the large array of "Additions et Corrections" (pp. 323-331) is really surprising; it would seem as though the book had at one time been pushed forward in a hurry; and when looked into closely there seems a much greater disparity between the knowledge possessed by the editor at the time when the first sheets were set in type and when the last pages of the preface were penned than is at all desirable. But even so, the edition as it stands may be pronounced a good one.

The highly curious "Visio Karoli" (lib. 2, c. 21), one of the series of politico-religious visions, which are, in fact, political squibs, was printed in 1851 in vol. i. of the "Bibliophile Troyen," from a Troyes MS. of the thirteenth century, by M. Gadan, who knew nothing of its occurrence in Hariulfus. As M. Lot has nothing else but late copies, a collation of the Troyes MS. would seem desirable. Gadan's is evidently an indifferent print, but it affords some good corrections of the print—e.g. repausationis *gratio* cubitum ("Hariulf," p. 145, l. 4); *avunculorum meorum* (l. 18); et *meos*, dicentes (p. 146, l. 15); *nunc tertius* in *imperio* (p. 147, l. 31). The occurrence of the *Visio* in a separate form, with a

text agreeing at least in some points with that in William of Malmesbury raises the question whether this latter really knew Hariulf at all, as is assumed by his editors, down to Dr. Liebermann and Bishop Stubbs.

Not knowing that M. Lot intended to print Angilbert's Ritual Ordinance or *Institutio* for St. Riquier, I myself printed it in the *Domsdei Review* just at the time when his volume was being actually issued; but I was unable to revise the proofs, and errors have crept in. Apart from one or two obvious slips, M. Lot's print requires the following corrections: p. 302, l. 26, insert *est* after *maxime*; p. 303, l. 22, for *Indie* read *Inde*; p. 304, l. 26, after *respertinos* insert *nocturnos atque matutinos*. I agree with the conclusions at which M. Lot has arrived, except on the following points: (1) I think he is certainly wrong in considering lib. ii. capp. 8-10 formed any part of the *Institutio*; cap. 11 very likely is part at least of a proem and c. 1. The missing chapters doubtless related to Christmas, Epiphany, Purification, and Lent (cf. the references, l. 6 of c. vi, and l. 20, 21 of c. vii.).

M. Lot seems to be too peremptory in asserting that the Gorz MS. was the source of both Hariulf and the Vatican MS. in what concerns Angilbert's memorials; he seems to have overlooked too Hariulf's statement (p. 69), which, though not clearly expressed, certainly seems to mean that he had copied them from the original document still extant and in a dilapidated state; and this is just the impression conveyed by the Vatican manuscript also.

E. B.

The Apostolic Gospel. With a Critical Reconstruction of the Text
by J. FULTON BLAIR, B.D. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15
Waterloo Place. 1896. Pp. 393.

SINCE the days of Eichhorn, the hypothesis of a "primitive gospel" has found favour with a certain school of biblical critics. This school at first maintained that the earliest gospel to appear was a very brief record in Aramaic, or Syro-Chaldaic of the words and deeds of Christ. This record, which was immediately translated into Greek, was read in all the churches. From time to time additions were made to this record, and it was in many ways altered and modified, with the result that, finally, three distinct and varying editions of this primitive gospel, or *Ur-Evangelium*, were in use in different parts of the Church. These varying editions of the primitive gospel are now known to us as the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In one part of the Church it was held that St. Matthew, in another that St. Mark, in a third that St. Luke was the author of the primitive gospel. Finally the primitive gospel was lost sight of, and the three varying editions were assigned severally to SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke as the inde-

pendent and original compositions of those writers. Such was, in its earliest stages, the hypothesis of the primitive gospel. There is perhaps no hypothesis more flagrantly at variance with historical tradition than the hypothesis we have just described. Not a single one of the ancient writers who treat of the origin of the gospels makes the slightest reference to a primitive gospel. On the contrary, they absolutely affirm that the authors of the gospels were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They even describe the circumstances in which the gospels were written by these authors, as do, *e.g.*, Johannes Presbyter, a contemporary of the Apostles, and Papias, with respect to the gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, and Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen, with respect to all the gospels. Unless, then, we wish to contradict the clear witness of historical tradition, and compose hypotheses at will, we must regard Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as the writers, and the original writers of the gospels, and dismiss the theory of the primitive gospel as a figment of the imagination. Nevertheless, this theory, though it has been much modified since Eichhorn's day, still has its supporters, and amongst them is Mr. Fulton. According to Mr. Fulton, the primitive gospel is found as one among many other elements contained in the four canonical gospels, and especially in the first and third. In the book under review our author is attempting to disentangle this hypothetical primitive document from its accretions, and to restore it to its original form. We have, we think, sufficiently indicated that an attempt of this kind must be unsuccessful. But while we regard Mr. Fulton's attempt as a failure, we must at the same time give him credit for considerable acuteness and ingenuity.

St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. By W. M.

RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen, &c.

London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1895.

Pp. 394.

TILL quite recently "Higher Criticism" had thoroughly convinced itself that the "Acts of the Apostles" was a composition of the second century, and that its author consciously misrepresented facts to make them fall into line with his own opinion upon the Church questions of his time. This theory was based on the supposition that the record of historical events contained in the "Acts" was not only inaccurate but also impregnated by second century ideas. In endeavouring to establish this supposition, "Higher Criticism" displayed a misapprehension of Roman history which Professor Ramsay well cha-

racterises as "astonishing." Professor Ramsay was, indeed, himself at one time an advocate of the Tübingen theory. It was once, as he informs us, a "fixed idea" with him that the "Acts" was a second century composition. But he has now completely discarded this position. He can now write with confidence, "All such theories belong to the pre-Mommsenian epoch of Roman history: they are now impossible for a rational and educated critic; and they hardly survive except in popular magazines and novels of the semi-religious order." In the work under review, Professor Ramsay undertakes to prove that the "Acts" was written by an historian of the very first rank; one who set himself to record facts as they actually occurred; a strong partisan indeed, but "raised above partiality by his perfect confidence that he had only to describe facts as they occurred, in order to make the truth of Christianity and the honour of Paul apparent." Our author further undertakes to prove that the "Acts" was written by a personal friend and disciple of St. Paul, and he maintains that if this be once established there can be no hesitation in accepting the primitive tradition which ascribes the authorship to St. Luke. Professor Ramsay has completely succeeded in his task, and has produced a book which, with certain reservations which will be at once apparent to any Catholic reader of the work, we can heartily recommend. The book is full of serious history, but so graphically is it written that it reads as lightly as a romance.

Outlines of Dogmatic Theology. By SYLVESTER JOSEPH HUNTER, of the Society of Jesus. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1896. Pp 495.

WITH this volume Fr. Hunter brings to a conclusion his extremely useful "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology." The present volume, which treats of grace, justification, and the sacraments in general, the sacraments in particular, and the last things, is characterised by the distinctness of statement and cogency of argument which were among the conspicuous merits of the preceding volumes. The present volume discusses, of necessity, many points that are controverted amongst Catholic theologians. But Fr. Hunter is much too practical to devote much space to mere controversy. When, however, he does enter the lists his arguments are well worth consideration. Thus, when defending the *moral* causation of the sacraments he argues ingeniously, as follows:

It is certain that the sacrament of matrimony is received when two fit persons enter into the Christian contract of marriage; also, it is certain

that this contract, like other contracts, may be entered into by the agency of procurators, in the absence of the parties. The rite, therefore, is the expression of the consents by the procurators, and it is against all conceptions that we can form of the nature of physical causation to suppose that this rite physically causes grace in the absent and unconscious parties. There is no difficulty in the way of attributing to it a power of moral causation, by which it moves the will of God, inclining Him to give the grace, for the absence of the parties from the scene of the ceremony is no hindrance to this divine action (p. 194).

Here, as in the earlier volumes, Fr. Hunter occasionally introduces points which are full of interest, yet are not usually discussed in manuals of theology. A subject of this nature introduced into the present volume is that of Anglican Orders. Fr. Hunter's concluding paragraph on this matter is well worth quotation—

Doubts were raised as to the validity of the Elizabethan ordinations on other grounds besides those which we have mentioned; there is, for instance, strong ground for questioning the sufficiency of the intention of the consecrators. But enough has been said to explain the conduct of Rome in this matter. Rome has constantly for centuries treated it as certain that the Anglican clergy have no orders; if they wish to be recognised as Catholic priests they must be ordained, without any condition. We must conclude either that Rome believes Anglican orders to be certainly invalid, or that the Roman authorities have for centuries systematically countenanced a series of sacrileges (pp. 386, 387).

We trust that Fr. Hunter's work will have a wide circulation. Few could read the "Outlines" without profit, and to many they will come as an astounding revelation of the majestic symmetry of Catholic theology.

Christ in Type and Prophecy. By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, Md. Vol. II. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1896. Pp. 500.

MIRACLES and prophecies are the signature which God has attached to revelation in order that its divine character may be distinctly recognised. The prophecy argument for the divine origin of Christianity runs as follows:—God cannot testify to what is false. But God has by means of the Messianic prophecies testified to the divinity and the divine mission of Jesus. Consequently, Jesus had a divine mission and nature. If the premises are correct the conclusion follows of necessity. The major premise which assumes the existence of God and His essential attributes is a truth which is known by the light of reason. The minor premise involves three statements: (1)

That there have been real Messianic predictions; (2) that these Messianic predictions are true prophecies; (3) that they were employed by God in confirmation of the divine mission and nature of Jesus. Fr. Maas, in his very learned work on "Christ in Type and Prophecy," establishes this minor premise with such force and cogency that we regard his book as one of the very ablest apologies for Christianity that we know. In the first volume, after a lengthy and most erudite introduction, in which he discusses the history and form of the prophecy-argument, the general diffusion of Messianic prophecy, the name and nature of the prophets, the prophetic office, and the writings of the prophets, he examines the prophecies bearing on the genealogy, birth, infancy, and names of the Messias. In the second volume he examines the prophecies as to the offices, public life, sufferings and glory of the Messias; and where fitting opportunity occurs he introduces and discusses types of the Messias.

La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Par L'ABBÉ P. FERET. Moyen-Age. Tome Troisième. Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1896. Pp. 669.

THE "Reformers" refused to recognise the authority of the scholastic writers. They had as little respect for the giants of the Middle Ages as they had for the fathers of the early Church. The reason is not far to seek. From the scholastics as from the fathers their systems met with nothing but condemnation in advance. Catholic theologians were constrained to meet the "Reformers" with the weapons chosen by the latter. Hence the study of the scholastics became generally neglected. The enemy of the present time is less a false theology than a false philosophy. Scholasticism, in consequence, is coming once more to the front. But while the study of the leading scholastic writers is again renewed little is known of the distinguished but less prominent scholastics. In this work, the third volume of which has now appeared, M. Feret is attempting to remove this defect. We must say that we regard his attempt as a very successful one. He writes with fulness and, so far as we can judge, with accuracy. The numerous references sufficiently show the careful study he has given to his subject. He does not criticise the writings, but in an easy flowing style he presents us with pleasing biographies of the writers. We wish his book success.

Regeneration ; a Reply to Max Nordau. Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co. 1895. Pp. 315.

WE should not ourselves have thought that Max Nordau's "Degeneration" ought to be taken seriously. Such, however, is not the opinion of an anonymous author who, in the book which lies before us, undertakes its elaborate refutation. He questions Nordau's theory, and he questions the arguments which Nordau advances in support of that theory. He regards "Degeneration" as a purely subjective work, and as the outcome of prejudice rather than of cool reasoning. He maintains that the book, though professedly written from a cosmopolitan standpoint, sufficiently betrays the fact that its writer is a German, a Jew, an enemy of France, one that may have a large acquaintance with books but has certainly only a small acquaintance with men. We need not follow our anonymous author in his defence of Ibšen, Tolstoi, and Wagner against the onslaughts of Max Nordau. Assuming, as we do, that "Degeneration" is of very little interest to our readers, it would be useless to attempt to excite their interest in its counterblast, "Regeneration."

Catholic Doctrine and Discipline simply Explained. By PHILIP BOLD. Revised, and in part edited by Father EYRE, S.J. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1896. Pp. 340.

MR. BOLD presents us with a plain simple exposition of the teaching of the Church with respect to the articles of the Creed, the commandments of God and the Church, grace, prayer, the sacraments, the sacramentals, and adds some account of the ritual observed in the celebration of mass, and in the administration of the various sacraments. In form the book is everything that could be desired. The paper is good, the type is excellent, and each paragraph has its marginal heading, which serves at once to arrest attention and to facilitate the grasping of the doctrine as a whole. If the treatise is to reach a second edition, as we trust it will, Mr. Bold will do well to revise the first sentence of his paragraph on "Mental Restrictions" (p. 160), and in his paragraph on "Baptism by Desire" (p. 216), to make it clear that the *implicit* desire for baptism is sufficient.

The Mystery of the Cross; Eight Addresses on the Atonement. By the Rev. WINFRID O. BURROWS, M.A., Principal of Leeds Clergy School. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 1896. Pp. 227.

MR. BURROWS is of opinion that the Church has never formulated any exact statement of the doctrine of the Atonement; that different and even, in part, contradictory theories on this most momentous subject have been held by men whom the Church regards as orthodox; that again and again statements of the doctrine are put before us which we hesitate either to accept or reject, that even when we are dealing with sinners needing conversion we are often at a loss from not knowing quite what to say, what to expect, what to hope for. Thoughts like these, our author informs us, led first to the composition, and now to the publication, of these eight addresses. We need not point out that Mr. Burrows is an Anglican clergyman.

The Monastic Life from the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne. Eighth volume of the Formation of Christendom. By THOMAS W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road. 1896. Pp. 382.

THAT Mr. Allies deserves well of English-speaking Catholics, and not of them only, but of dispassionate historical students all the world over, no one who has any acquaintance with his magnificent work will for one moment doubt. The "Monastic Life" is the latest addition to the monumental series, which for accuracy and fulness, philosophic grasp and beauty of style, has not been surpassed, and indeed is hardly equalled by any historical work in our language. It may be said that Newman's "Historical Sketches" are in their way unapproachable; undoubtedly they are, but the historical work of Newman was supplemental and incidental; and as such it was necessarily fragmentary. The historical work of Mr. Allies is, on the other hand, primary as the outcome of his intellectual life; it is in itself a single whole, having the "See of Peter" as its centre; its parts are intimately interconnected, each of them describing a fresh phase in the development of the earlier history of the Church, or, as he happily terms it, the Formation of Christendom. In the "Monastic Life" he depicts the evolution of the initial principle of monasticism from the *vita communis* of the early Church, portrays its development

as carrying on the higher life of the Church, and shows it to us as antidotal to the worldliness, pagan, saracenic, or christian of all ages. Further, he gives with no uncertain sound the mind of the Church on monasticism as mirrored in the pages of the Fathers and Doctors, and above all in the decrees of the Holy See. This and much more than this we gather from nine chapters of entrancing interest which treat respectively of the Fathers of the Desert; the Monastic Life in the Fourth Century; the Force of the Monastic Life; the Blessing of St. Benedict; St. Patrick and St. Augustine; how the monks made England; three nuns of Odin's race; St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany; and, finally, the Holy See from Attila to Charlemagne. Prominent among the points set forth in masterly fashion by Mr. Allies is the contrast between the antagonistic forces of Monasticism and Mohammedanism.

The Caliphs of Mohammed recognised in the monk, not only the professor and practiser of the faith which they most opposed, but the manner of life the most hostile to their own example and practice. The founder of their disbelief had shown this abhorrence in all his conduct, and all those who owned him for their prophet derived from him a relentless persecution in both sexes of the life which consists in a special imitation of Christ, (p. 293).

They followed with peculiar hatred and laboured destruction religious houses, both male and female, in the East, exactly in those seventy years when the children of St. Benedict and St. Columban were planting them in the West, (p. 346).

Against them (the sensual morals and the despotism of Mohammed) the rule of St. Gregory in the race trained and cultivated by Benedict had formed an adequate and enduring rampart. The Mohammedan flood swept without pausing from Caesarea . . . over the Egypt of the Desert Fathers, and over St. Augustine's Africa to the extreme West. . . . The Teuton as a Benedictine was kept in reserve against the Saracen and voluptuary; the monastery in the west, over the great realms of Gaul to its utmost northern limit, and Britain to Edinburgh, left the harem to a degenerate East. . . . The two forms of life showed themselves, on the one side in Charlemagne, on the other in Haroun Alraschid (pp. 368-9).

Of still greater interest to us who are natives of those islands of the western waters evangelised directly from Rome by St. Patrick and St. Augustine, are the chapters in which we read how England and Ireland were converted, and, in the best senses of the term, "made" by monasticism.

These two conversions, of Ireland under St. Patrick in the fifth century . . . and of England in the seventh century under St. Augustine . . . and his successors . . . , are conversions like none which preceded them in the history of the Church, (p. 203).

The general assumption of this (*the Common Life*) by the Northern invaders in France and Spain, and Italy, and then in Britain, helped by the devoted Irish race, and lastly in Germany, from the time of the

Anglo-Saxon Boniface, I count to be the basis on which Europe has been built; and as Benedict the Roman was the great builder, so Gregory the Roman inspired and blessed the building, (pp. 350-1).

The "Blessing of St. Benedict" made Catholic England and France and Germany. To these countries and to others converted by their monks and nuns came civilisation and permanent civil status in direct consequence of conversion. Well may it be said, therefore, that the "Blessing of St. Benedict" was in a true sense the making of Christian Europe. Did space permit we should call attention in the words of Mr. Allies to the large share taken by Teuton women in the works of conversion and monachising. But we must content ourselves now with the expression of the hope that "The Monastic Life" will be widely read, that the years of Mr. Allies' literary labour may be prolonged, and that this may not be the last work we shall welcome from the mature mind of the veteran author of the "Formation of Christendom."

A New Natural Theology based upon the Doctrine of Evolution. By Rev. J. MORRIS, M.A., formerly Fellow of the University of Durham. London: Rivington, Percival & Co., King Street, Covent Garden. 1896. Pp. 347.

MR. MORRIS has very little sympathy with the arguments ordinarily advanced in favour of "design." Accepting as he does the doctrine of evolution, he informs us that the true method of procedure is to clear the mind of all idea of design, and follow the teaching of evolution whithersoever it may lead. Paley's analogy of the watch he casts aside as not apposite to the facts of the case. The attempts that have been made in recent years to restate Paley's argument he treats with little respect. The Bampton lectures of 1884 he charges with turning things upside down by calling upon evolution to answer at the bar of Paleyism instead of summoning Paleyism to answer at the bar of evolution. Janet's doctrine of final causes he declares to be unsatisfactory and open to the weighty objection that if adaptations be in themselves evidence of a final cause, it is impossible to reconcile with the wisdom and power of God the waste of life and the existence of parasites. But it must not be inferred from this that our author finds no evidence of purpose in the universe. On the contrary, he maintains that the bare fact of an evolution in which interdependent organisations are established in accordance with a primary and persistent form of organisation makes a teleology of some kind imperative. It would be impossible in a short notice to indicate

the process by which Mr. Morris attempts to erect a system of natural theology on the basis of evolution. We must content ourselves with saying that, while we are strongly of opinion that the book will be of but little use in forwarding the good cause which Mr. Morris evidently has at heart, "A New Natural Theology" is a work which could have been written only by a very able and a very well-read man.

The Christian's Model; or, Sermons on the Life and Death of Christ. By the Rev. FRANCIS HUNOLT. Translated from the original German edition by the Rev. I. ALLEN, D.D., Queenstown, South Africa. Vol. I. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1895. Pp. 484.

IT is much more easy to find a volume of essays that is consistently good throughout than to find a volume of discourses that is consistently good throughout. Possibly the reason of this may be that the discourses have been delivered orally before they were printed and the essays have not. In the case of public speaking, unless the audience happens to be unusually critical and unusually well-informed, at least as much depends upon the manner of delivery as upon the matter that is delivered. A speech, excellent in itself, may lose its effect from an awkward delivery; and a speech, commonplace in itself, may meet with applause from a graceful delivery. The speaker will often ascribe to a supposed excellence of matter a success which was really due to nothing more than an excellence of manner. He prints his speeches, confident that his words will prove as effective when read as they were when delivered. But his confidence is vain. The mere dead words stripped of the grace of voice, manner, and bearing, which gave life, energy, and charm to them when they were delivered, look stale, flat, and unprofitable. The essayist is free from this danger. The personality of the writer will indeed, at times, lend an interest to the writing; but, speaking generally, the success of the essayist depends on what he writes and how he writes, and he writes with full knowledge of this. What has been said of printed speeches is in some degree true of printed sermons. Many a preacher who has been heard with pleasure has been afterwards read with little satisfaction. Whether Fr. Hunolt had or had not excellence as a speaker we have no means of deciding. But that he possessed the greater excellence which belongs to a good sermon writer the volume under notice sufficiently proves. If, indeed, we seek brilliancy of style or depth of thought we must go elsewhere. But, if we can

rest content with honest, straightforward solid speech on the subjects which most of all ought to interest us, we shall find much to satisfy us in the sermons of Fr. Hunolt.

The Theory of Knowledge: A Contribution to some Problems of Logic and Metaphysics. By L. T. HOBHOUSE, Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Methuen and Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C. 1896.

MUCH as we dissent from many of Mr. Hobhouse's conclusions we are bound to confess that the "Theory of Knowledge" is a very able, and what, perhaps, makes it more useful still, a very stimulating work. It cannot, indeed, be regarded as strictly speaking an original work. Our author is, as he cheerfully confesses, a borrower on a large scale. But if he borrows he does not borrow blindly. He expresses acknowledgments to many, but he owns himself disciple to none. Of living writers Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Bradley would seem to be the two on whom he has most largely drawn. But if he often refers to them in terms of graceful acknowledgment, he no less frequently quotes them only to controvert what they have written. On these latter occasions our agreement is often rather with Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Bradley than with our author. Thus we regard their presentation of Mill's system of inference as a far truer presentation than that of Mr. Hobhouse. We agree with their presentation and we agree with their strictures. And we are convinced that our author's defence of Mill is based on a false assumption as to Mill's real position. We may here express surprise that in a work into which the philosophy of Mill so largely enters, such little reference should be made to the late Dr. W. G. Ward. Mr. Hobhouse is, of course, free to think with Mill rather than to think with Ward. But surely a philosopher whom Mill regarded as the most powerful opponent that ever entered the lists against him has claims on his serious attention. And yet of Dr. Ward there is scarcely any mention. Evidently this is a very serious defect in Mr. Hobhouse's work. That the "Theory of Knowledge" will reach a second edition is a matter open to question. The demand for philosophical literature is not very great in this country. But should the book reach a second edition we trust that this defect will be remedied. Anyone that pleases may champion Mill. But no one can honestly champion Mill before he has disposed of Ward. Mr. Hobhouse is what we should consider sound on many points of momentous interest. We are in full sympathy with him when he argues that the content of apprehension

is a primary datum for knowledge, or that space perceptions are not evolved from non-spatial perceptions, or that the world of knowledge is a world of reality consisting partly of mental phenomena, partly of an order external to the knowing subject and not dependent for its existence on the knowing subject. But elsewhere our convictions are as fully against him. But even when we dissent from Mr. Hobhouse we can always read him with pleasure. And if we look in vain throughout his work for the clearness of statement which constitutes one of the charms of scholastic writers, his style is at least free from that laboured effort after unintelligibility which is the characteristic of modern philosophical literature.

The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green. By W. H. FAIRBROTHER, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy at Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Methuen and Co., 36, Essex Street, Strand. 1896. Pp. 187.

THE philosophical mind of the late T. H. Green is usually regarded as somewhat inaccessible. It is understood that he had some message to the world of which he wished to get himself delivered; but the precise import of this message is, to the uninitiated, not altogether clear. On the other hand many who studied under the guidance of the famous Oxford professor are convinced that Green was, if not the creator, at least the eloquent exponent of an all comprehensive system of philosophy which stands proof against the onslaughts of materialism. Mr. W. H. Fairbrother would seem to be one of those who fell under the spell of Green's personal influence, and the disciple would now repay some share of the debt which he acknowledges to his master. Mr. Fairbrother admits that to ordinary minds Green can scarcely be reckoned as easy reading. Accordingly he takes on himself the task of interpreting Green. He endeavours, with such degree of success as in the circumstances is obtainable, to present a simple, plain exposition of Green's philosophical system. He hopes that in this way students at Oxford and elsewhere may gain some insight into the teaching of his master. He is convinced that with insight will come appreciation, the desire for fuller acquaintance, and the wish to study Green at first hand. That the "Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green" will have this effect is, we think, improbable. But our author is, at least, entitled to the credit of having performed in a conscientious and careful manner the task he had set himself.

L'Auxiliaire du Catéchiste: Dictionnaire des mots du Catéchisme présentés en tableaux synoptiques. Avec approbation de l'Ordinaire. Avignon: Auvance Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, pp. 386.

THIS little book ought to be of some use to catechists. It defines the more important words of the catechism, but it rarely contents itself with a mere definition. What is said under a single word often provides the order and suggests the matter for a complete instruction. Thus under the head "Absolution" we find the following division and treatment of the subject: (1) The nature of absolution. (2) The power to give absolution. (3) The effects of absolution. (4) The dispositions for receiving absolution. (5) The form of absolution. It is certainly a useful work.

La Crise Religieuse en Angleterre. Par le PÈRE RAGEY, Mariste. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1896. Pp. 305.

WE confess we opened this book with some apprehensions, fearing that we might find here, as in certain similar works that have lately appeared in France, a lofty disregard for unwelcome truths, and a somewhat scanty knowledge of historical facts, joined to an unbounded confidence in optimistic dreams. But we were most agreeably undeceived; true it is that the learned and pious Marist (who is well known to our readers by his "Life of St. Anselm") looks forward with hopefulness to a future corporate reunion of the Establishment with the Catholic Church; but he does so without in any way shutting his eyes to the grave obstacle which makes such a consummation seem, at present at least, impossible. Indeed, he dwells on these obstacles at some length, analysing them with much acumen. At the same time he shows that the grounds for hope are by no means few, and directs us to Him in whose hands are the hearts and wills of men, and to whom nothing is impossible. Believing firmly that prayer is suppliant omnipotence, he urges on his fellow-countrymen to pray without ceasing for England, and does not hesitate to assert that the future of our country rests in the hands of the Catholic episcopate; for if they will only urge on their flocks the duty of united prayer, the clouds will disperse before the rays of the Sun of Truth, and England will be brought back to the Church.

In some interesting chapters he gives a brief but vivid sketch of

the unparalleled greatness of the British Empire, of the world-wide sway of the English language (which he expects to become the universal tongue), and then points out that so vast a phenomenon can only be accounted for by some great and secret design of God's providence; he traces the extraordinary religious movement in England, and asks if this people is not chosen by God to extend His kingdom throughout the world? The Salvation Army, with its five million adherents, recruited in the course of a few years, shows that all that is needed for the conversion of the multitude is "a grace yet more abundant, a yet more powerful impulse of the Divine Spirit, and a Catholic Booth." At the same time, the English character, so slow to form new ideas, so inconsistent and illogical in following out conclusions, the Protestant spirit which rejoices in independence, and scouts submission to authority, the ignorance of theology so prevalent among the clergy (in whose good faith and sincerity he entirely believes), the prejudices so rooted in the people's minds, are terrible obstacles to the longed-for conversion. The cardinal error of Anglicans is, as he says, to believe that their Church is a part of the true Church of Christ, and unfortunately they do not read the works of English Catholics which expose and refute their errors.

But their good faith and loyalty, the generous way in which they have received the Holy Father's encyclical, the extraordinary change which is passing over public opinion, give ample ground for hope. Our author thinks that English Catholics are naturally enough influenced more by the difficulties which they see and hear around them than by the invisible forces which are working towards the union, and so are apt to be unduly desponding. Perhaps the French are apt to be too hopeful, but after all is not that a more satisfactory state of mind? In any case, all will agree that the author is right in deprecating harsh and acrimonious controversy, and pleading for mutual explanations. He would desire the Anglican bishops officially to seek for such explanations from the Holy See itself: and he quotes a beautiful letter from St. Gregory the Great (to whom he aptly compares our present Pontiff), begging two schismatic bishops to come to him, that they might discuss together the differences that separated them.

The book is quite up to date, and we cordially recommend it to our readers. Perhaps we may learn something from our French brethren, and that is always to speak of those outside the Church with the same generous charity, and with the same unstinting admiration for what is good and praiseworthy in them. It is so easy to criticise, to sneer, to be satirical; but when did such language ever win souls? Père Ragey, we may note, sent his work to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in reply, protested against the epithet "injurieux," which is applied to

his pastoral letter in answer to Leo XIII. The author has, therefore, fully retracted this expression ; and, indeed, throughout his work he is most careful, while fully pointing out the errors of Anglicans, to speak of them with a generous affection which must win their hearts.

Life of Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies. By MARY HALL McCLEAN. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 192 pp. 8vo.

THREE was room for a short biography of St. Francis Xavier in English. That of Father Coleridge, though as interesting as it is complete, to some readers seems, on the contrary, too complete to be interesting, and its length is certainly formidable. The authoress of this little volume does not appear to have been a Catholic, yet not only was she full of enthusiasm for the saintly missionary, but even for St. Ignatius and his wonderful band of followers. There is nothing in the book to offend a Catholic ; and if we consider it as selections from the Saint's admirable letters, with introductions and explanations, it may safely be recommended to Catholic readers. But as a complete sketch of St. Francis' life it is wanting in many respects. The miraculous is more prominent in his history than in that of most saints ; and as here it is omitted almost entirely, or suggested, or slurred over, the picture of the saint's missionary labours and successes cannot be thought adequate.

Italy and Her Invaders. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. Vol. V., The Lombard Invasion ; Vol. VI., The Lombard Kingdom. Oxford : The Clarendon Press. 1895. Pp. xxi.—484, and xvii.—635.

MR. HODGKIN'S monumental work is too well known and too highly esteemed to need further words of commendation from us. The two volumes before us, however, practically form a work by themselves—a History of the Lombards—and are of so important and so deeply interesting a character that we reserve them for fuller treatment later on in the form of an article. As they are provided with an excellent index, and even a vocabulary of the few Lombard words which have come down to us, they leave nothing to be desired in the way of completeness and adequacy. To Catholics the fifth volume is especially interesting as it contains a remarkably careful and sympathetic biography of St. Gregory I., “the greatest of the Roman pontiffs,” and

the apostle of the two sister Germanic races, the Anglo-Saxons and the Lombards.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch. Translated from the Slavonic. By W. R. MORFILL, M.A., Edited, &c., by R. H. Charles, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895. Pp. xlvi. —100.

WE are indebted to Messrs. Morfill and Charles for this very interesting addition to the "apocalyptic" literature which in various ages and places has produced works as different and yet as like as the Book of Arda-i Viraf, the visions of St. Brendan and Tundal, and the Divine Comedy of Dante. The "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" has come down to us only in a Slavonic version of the original Hebrew or Ethiopic, and this has been carefully and literally translated by our "only Slavonic scholar," Mr. Morfill, whilst the excellent notes and commentary are supplied by his colleague, Mr. Charles. The entire volume deserves high praise for its accurate scholarship and its completeness. The curious derivation of the various elements of the human frame—flesh, blood, eyes, bones, thoughts, veins and hair, and spirit—from portions of the material universe, earth, dew, the sun, stone, clouds, grass, and wind, respectively—in c. xxx. § 8, is singularly suggestive of the *exactly opposite* derivation in certain Sanskrit and Pehlevi traditions, wherein natural substances are derived from portions of a human person; (see letter by Dr. L. C. Casartelli, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 202–203, 1895). The parallelism can hardly be accidental.

Names and their Histories, Alphabetically Arranged as a Handbook. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Litt. D. London: Rivington, Percival and Co. 1896. Pp. v.—392.

TAYLOR'S "Words and Places" is an old favourite, but this is practically an entirely new work, and is so excellently well done that, after careful examination, we can give it unqualified praise. It is not only the carefully compiled and very accurate glossary which makes it of great practical use, but special praise must be given to the interesting and suggestive "Prologue," and to the seven learned appendices, treating specially of Indian, Turkish, Magyar, Slavonic, and German nomenclature, and of French and English village names. It would be a difficult task to compress more ample and more accurate information in the compass of 400 small pages.

Atlas Scripturae Sacrae. Decem Tabulæ Geographicae cum Indice Locorum, &c., Auctore, Dr. RICH. v. RIESS. Friburgi Brisgoviae, sumptibus Herder. 1896. Fol.

WE need do no more than say that this is a Latin edition of the well-known and excellent Scripture Atlas of Dr. von Riess, which is indispensable to every student of Holy Scripture. The beauty of its plates and the completeness of the appended gazetteer speak for themselves. The price is only 5 marks in paper and 6 marks 20 pf. in linen binding.

Napoléon III. avant l'Empire. Tome Second. Par H. THIRRIA. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895.

THE first volume of this very interesting work consisted of a description of the life of Louis Napoleon, from his birth to his election as President of the French Republic; the second continues it to his further election as President for a definite period of ten years. In some respects the present volume treats of more important political issues than the first; but its subject does not afford the same variety of scene, incident, and personal portraiture as that of its predecessor. The author shows equal skill in either of these bulky *tomes*, and in each case the enormous quantity of newspaper-extract, although exceedingly valuable, well selected, and admirably illustrative, is somewhat wearying to the ordinary reader. One feature of this journalistic evidence is particularly striking, and that is the great importance obviously attached by the author to the opinion of the English press. The criticisms on French policy in other foreign newspapers is little noticed; yet constant and copious quotations are given, not from only one or two English journals, but from many. The question irresistibly presents itself whether an English author, in writing the life of a political character in this country, would be likely to bring criticisms from French periodicals into equal prominence.

One of the most interesting portions of the second volume is that which deals with the action of Louis Napoleon in sending troops to re-establish the temporal power, when Pope Pius IX. had fled to Gaeta, after the assassination of Rossi. This proceeding was violently condemned by the French Radicals; on the other hand, Louis Napoleon offended good Catholics by stating that he felt personally injured because the Papal Government had made no concessions to liberalism, on being re-established in Rome. The *Times*, however, with true British "moderation," expressed its pleasure at both the revolutionists

and the legitimists being disappointed. Long descriptions are given of the quasi-royal progresses throughout the provinces, by which Napoleon III. made himself known and popular throughout the country, as well as of the reviews and efforts for its welfare by which he sought the favour and support of the army. At a time when there was an outcry in certain journals against the dangers of the President's alarming increase of power, Louis Veuillot, in the *Univers*, declared him to be the only refuge at the moment from socialism, ruin, and chaos. Montalembert stated his opinion that it would be a happy thing for France if it could obtain a period of ten years' repose, and the country confirmed it by electing Louis Napoleon as its President for exactly that length of time. The latter part of the volume, which tells the story of the exasperation of the Assembly, the calmness of the President, and the exciting events connected with the *coup d'état*, affords, as might be expected, very lively reading. Not the least interesting feature of this book, to the student of national character, will be its evidence of the enormous influence among the French people of popular cries in the streets and of ridicule in the tribune and in the newspapers.

Juifs et Catholiques en Autriche-Hongrie. A. KANNENGIESER.
Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1896.

IT is difficult for Englishmen to understand the intense antisemitism which largely prevails among Catholics on the Continent, especially in Austria. In Great Britain, the Jew is, as a rule, an excellent citizen, nor do his interests clash with those of the Catholic Church, as things stand at present in this country; and there is a tendency among English Catholics to consider the antisemitism of Continental Christians somewhat exaggerated. The little book entitled "Juifs et Catholiques" should do much to dispel this idea. Nothing attracts an Englishman so much as fairness, and this work is so far from being an unfair and savage attack upon the Jews that a very large part of it is not about Jews at all. It attributes the troubles of the Church in Austria quite as much to Josephism as to Judaism, and most of all to Josephism where it has been weak enough to lend itself, from interested motives, to the influence of Judaism. If the average English Catholic knows little about the antipathy of the Jews towards the Church in Austria, he probably knows still less about Josephism, and on that point also he may obtain very valuable information from this book. And it has been published at a very convenient time; for something constantly now appears in the newspapers about the

contest concerning the marriage-laws in Hungary, a matter which few English Catholics thoroughly understand. The author does not hesitate to speak his mind plainly with regard to the conduct of the present Emperor of Austria, when pressure was put upon him by the Jewish interest, which earned for him the nickname of the "Judenkaiser;" and he laments that, "in the capital of a Christian empire, in the city in which His Apostolic Majesty, with his head uncovered, follows the Blessed Sacrament in Procession," a Catholic Government—he might almost say a Clerical Government—should be at the mercy and the disposal of the Jewish press.

Not the least interesting pages of "Juifs et Catholiques" describe the life of the Abbé Brunner, one of the most noted opponents of Josephism and Semitism. Born in 1814 and dying in 1893, this champion of orthodoxy fought all comers in Austria throughout the greater part of the present century. He was an historian, a poet, a satirist, an editor of a journal, a traveller, and he was privately employed in France for diplomatic purposes by Metternich. He published more than sixty volumes, to say nothing of "thousands of articles" which he wrote for his journal. Ever ready to attack any authority, lay or ecclesiastical, when he thought it his duty to do so, he was within an ace of getting suspended. One does not expect to find much about England in a book on Austria-Hungary; nevertheless things English are mentioned at least twice in it. The Abbé Brunner, on one occasion, accused *The Times* of lying. On another, when ascending the Righi, he fell in with an Anglican Bishop, who was astonished to learn that Vienna was not in Hungary. When they passed before a Capuchin convent, the Bishop said "What ignorant people these monks are!" "Well, my lord," replied Brunner, "ask them where London is, and I am sure they will not be so ignorant as to say that it is in Scotland." After that the "évêque" addressed himself chiefly to "sa femme."

L'Insuffisance du Parallélisme prouvée sur la Préface du *Si-iu-Ki* contre M. G. Schlegel. Par A. GUELUY. Louvain : Istan. 1896. Pp. lvi.

THE subject of this learned *brochure* is of too special and intricate a nature to be treated of at length in these pages. Suffice it to say that the eminent sinologue of Leyden, Prof. Schlegel, some time ago, published a severe criticism of a new translation of the preface of the Chinese classic, the *Su-iu-Ki*, which had appeared from the pen

of Father Gueluy, a former missionary in China. The preface to the travels of the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim, Hieun-thsang, is one of the most difficult pieces of Chinese literature. Schlegel, in his trenchant *critique*, attacked the new translation attempted by the Belgian missionary as "fantastic and arbitrary," in a book of 203 pages, full of epithets of a character usual to irascible German scholars in their controversies. Father Gueluy shows that he is quite able to defend himself, and in the essay before us is able to give a very good account of his adversary, whose numerous errors and misrepresentations in translating Chinese texts are pitilessly exposed. The controversy is one for specialists, but it is quite clear that "unser grösster Sinologe" is not likely to have the last word, as Kühnert seems to think in the current number of the *Vienna Oriental Journal*.

The Life of Helen Lucretia Cornaro Piscopia. (St. Benedict's, Rome. 1896.)

THOUGH not written with any such object in view, this biography has an interesting bearing on what may be called one of the questions of the day—the admission of women to university degrees. Helen Lucretia Cornaro was born of a noble Venetian family in the middle of the seventeenth century, and from her earliest years she gave evidence alike of unusual piety and of those wonderful intellectual gifts that made her one of the most remarkable women who have ever lived. In her thirty-second year she was able to profess seven sciences and to speak and write in seven languages, including Hebrew and Greek; and after publicly expounding texts of Aristotle in the duomo of Padua, before a multitude of doctors and professors and learned men from all parts, she was elected doctor of philosophy in that university. The university dons of those days had apparently no objections to admitting a woman to a degree in philosophy; but when the question was mooted of her taking the doctorate in theology, difficulties were made, and before the point could be decided her health broke down. She died at the age of thirty-eight, having won a European reputation. There is an interesting account of a state visit paid her by the famous Cardinal Destrées, in the name of the King of Spain; she received a personal letter from Pope Innocent XI.; and after her death the University of Padua struck a medal in her honour.

The main interest of the Life lies in the circumstance that in this, probably the most remarkable instance of the highest intellectual

gifts in a woman being sedulously cultivated and used to their utmost capacity, severe study and the most cultured intellectualism appear not in the slightest degree to have dimmed her feminine grace and delicacy ; she was no amazon, but a woman gentle, modest, and loving to the end. The most pleasing pictures are given of her relations with her domestics, of her visiting the sick and the poor, and catechising peasants and children. Though her hand was sought by nobles and princes, she never married, having made a vow of chastity in her girlhood. Later she became a Benedictine oblate, and wore the habit and said the office, and tried, as far as was possible in her father's palace, to lead a life conformable to her state. Her spirit of prayer was as remarkable as her spirit of study, and she was as holy as she was intellectual. The Life, which occupies a hundred pages, is well written, and is adorned with four portraits of the heroine and with other illustrations ; and it ought to become a useful handbook with the advocates of higher education for women—a subject on which we refrain from expressing any opinion.

Reviews in Brief.

Alexis Clerc. Par le R. P. CHARLES DANIEL, S.J. Paris : P. Téqui. 1895.—This biography forms a worthy pendant to that of M. Robinet de Plas, noticed elsewhere in this REVIEW. The subjects of both were French naval officers, who after abandoning for years all practices of religion, were led back by the mysterious workings of grace, not only to the fold of the Church as fervent Christians, but to the lofty vocation of Jesuit priests, noted for rare virtue and sanctity. Both shared too that voyage undertaken in the spirit of a crusade, to visit and protect the French missions in China, in a ship rendered for the time a floating sanctuary by the celebration of religious services on board, and the edifying spirit in which they were attended by the officers and crew. It was M. Clerc's last voyage, as it only confirmed the religious vocation already matured before he sailed. He sacrificed to it the earthly prospect of a brilliant career, to meet at the end of sixteen years a tragic fate, as one of those saintly victims of the Commune, shot down in hatred of the faith, on whom popular piety has conferred the title of martyrs, in anticipation of its confirmation by the Church. The narrative of a life so replete with incident and variety forms a volume as full of interest as of edification. It loses nothing in the hands of the narrator, who writes in a spirit of love and reverence for the *confrère* whose memory he celebrates.

Les Missions du Colonel Flatters. Par J. V. BARBIER. Paris : P. Téqui. 1895.—The history of the two missions of Colonel Flatters, the latter of which ended so tragically, is told in this volume on the authority of hitherto unpublished documents. The story of the disaster is told with all its grim details, and the ambush in the desert, the massacres of part of the mission, the poisoned dates causing delirium and apathy to the remainder, the last fight and the dreadful retreat with its attendant horrors of famine and cannibalism, are set down in a narrative which is all the more effective from its simplicity. The mission, intended as a reconnaissance for the Trans-Saharan railway, started across the desert from the Algerian frontier at the close of 1880. Of the ninety individuals composing it, only thirteen returned alive, and these were all natives, the eleven

Frenchmen having perished to a man at the hands of those pirates of the Sahara, the Touaregs.

Petronilla and other Stories. By ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1896.—The spirit of Catholic faith is so blended with the narrative in the stories contained in this pretty volume, that they inculcate a moral without obtruding it. As bright sketches of American social life they appeal moreover to the interest of readers of all classes, and are the more suitable for Christmas presentations as many of them turn on the associations of that season. The first, for instance, is the story of three Christmases, and the last of a New Year's Day surprise, making happiness the unlooked-for reward of its intended sacrifice to religious conviction.

Philosophie de Saint Thomas. La Connaissance, par M. J. GARDAIR, professeur libre de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris à La Sorbonne. Paris: Léthielleux Libraire-Éditeur, 10 Rue Cassette. 1895. Pp. 304.—M. Gardair, who is one of those very able writers who are seeking to restore in France the philosophy of St. Thomas, provides us in this little treatise with some excellent dissertations on St. Thomas' theory of knowledge. We have rarely seen a more successful attempt at presenting in popular form St. Thomas' theory on this subject. "La Connaissance" deserves to take rank with M. Gardair's "Corps d'Ame," which met with such favourable acceptance when it first appeared some years ago.

La Vie de N.S. Jésus-Christ, méditée pour tous les Jours de l'Année. Vol. I. Par L'AUTEUR DES AVIS SPIRITUELS. Fifth Edition. Paris: P. Téqui.—It is consoling to find, in these days of restless activity, a book of meditations reaching its fifth edition. These meditations are preceded by good sound advice and instruction on the manner of meditating, and are intended chiefly for those who make frequent communions. And they seem to us well adapted for those more advanced in the spiritual life. The volume before us commences on Advent Sunday and takes us to the eve of Pentecost, the meditations bearing more or less directly on the life of our Blessed Lord. They are full of suggestions put in simple but impressive language. Those happy souls who have some understanding of the divine art of mental prayer will find them helpful.

La Table Eucharistique et ses Convives. Par Père SERVAIS. Paris: P. Téqui.—Where are the guests? Who has dispersed them? How are they to be brought back? These are the pro-

blems which the writer of this very able little *brochure* essays to solve. France, the eldest daughter of Holy Church, has sadly fallen away from her mother. P. Servais lays the responsibility of her desertion from the altar to (1) Protestantism, which by its negations has produced *doubts* and *scepticism* in the mind; (2) Jansenism, whose austere doctrine has created *fear* in the soul; (3) Voltairianism, sowing, by its subtle mockeries and fears, *false shame* in weak wills; and lastly (4) the Revolution, guided by freemasonry, which has brought forth bitter hatred against our Lord and His Church. The remedies suggested are (1) prayer; (2) action; (3) speech. This little work is well worth reading. The writer is intensely in earnest, and makes it evident that he has studied his subject, in which experience has assisted him. The *brochure* is in fact a detached chapter of a larger work on the Eucharist, which is shortly to be issued.

Réflexions et Prières pour la Sainte Communion. Vol. II. Ninth Edition. Paris: P. Téqui.—This work is the second volume of a number of prayers in the form of exercises for each day of the month, intended for those devout souls who have both the time and inclination for spiritual exercise, and is commendable for its simplicity of language and devotional spirit. Its somewhat bulky form is against it, particularly in these days when we have apparently so little time to devote to things spiritual. It is a book well worth having, if only to supply us with matter for meditation.

History of Ely Place. By the Rev. J. A. DEWE. London: Burns & Oates. 1895.—In an interesting little pamphlet, sold for the modest sum of 2*d.*, the vicissitudes of Ely Place are recounted since it was bequeathed in the year 1290, by John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, to his successors in perpetuity, as a residence within easy reach of the metropolis. Holborn was then in the country, and the episcopal palace evidently stood in its own grounds, as we find the property subsequently added to by the gift of a vineyard. Here was built, probably at the date of the first donation, the church of St. Etheldreda, restored to Catholic worship in 1874, on its purchase by the Fathers of the Institute of Charity, with Father Lockhart as Superior. It is memorable as the first of the pre-Reformation churches in London, and we believe in England, thus given back to the Old Faith.

Laurence Oliphant. By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. London: The Leadenhall Press. 1895.—This little *brochure*, published as “a supplementary contribution” to the biography of Laurence Oliphant,

is intended to justify him from the charge of having been imposed upon by a mere charlatan, such as Mr. Harris, the founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life, is generally assumed to have been. To this end the author publishes sundry effusions in rhyme and blank verse from the writings of Harris, which, though they may not be altogether without poetic merit, contribute little towards the solution of the problem of his influence over a mind like Oliphant's.

Ad Sodales. By FRANK TAYLOR. London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1895.—The bright and brief lyrics, here republished, as a prefatory note informs us, from the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other journals, belong to the category of *vers de société*, and have all the metrical facility and flippant sparkle of that school of poetry. Inspired by “trifles light as air,” they are but airy trifling, to criticise which seriously would be to break a butterfly on a wheel. Yet such productions have their place, and these latest inspirations of the muse of *bric-à-brac* verse will at least fill it gracefully.

Melodies of Mood and Tense. By CHARLES H. A. ESLING. Philadelphia : Charles H. Walsh. 1894.—The versatility of Mr. Esling's muse may be judged even by a glance at his table of contents, where we pass from society verses and kindred graceful trifling to hymns to the saints, and translations of the *Dies Irae* and *Stabat Mater*. The series entitled *Poems of Places*, contains some of the prettiest lyrics in a volume whose interest is enhanced by the charming illustrations enlisting another art in aid of the poetical inspirations of the *genius loci*. One of the little pieces, “A Roundel for Rosetime,” is printed with the original music to which it has been set as a vocal quartette for tenors and basses.

My Crucifix. By ALLARD MONTPINCON. London : W. Knott. 1895.—The thoughts suggested to a devout mind in kneeling before a crucifix are here arranged in four short and beautiful meditations, with sufficient novelty of idea and expression to arouse the attention and excite the interest of the reader. Although the author, in his few prefatory words, disclaims all pretension to originality of thought, he has at least given freshness of form to the sentiments with which his piety inspired him, and has thus compiled a little work which, short as it is, being entirely comprised within the compass of 40 pages, cannot fail to be of use to others.

Nouveau Mois de Saint Joseph. Par l'Abbé JOSEPH BERLIER. Paris : P. Téqui. 1896.—In thirty-one chapters, one for each day of

the month of March, the author has arranged in due sequence all that Scripture and tradition have handed down in reference to St. Joseph, collating and combining the speculations of various authorities on a life so mysterious and so little known. With the facts arranged in their order he has intermingled his own interesting and edifying reflections, forming a series of essays which by their charm and interest lead the reader insensibly on from one branch of the subject to another. The lecture, reflection, and prayer of which each chapter consists, render them suitable for meditations, which though especially appropriate to the month of March will not be out of place at any season of the year.

The Pessimist. By CHARLES WADDIE. Edinburgh: Waddie & Co. 1896.—The poem which gives its title to this volume is in blank verse, and consists of about 30 pages of reflections expressed in poetic form and diction, but of a more or less obvious character, on the vanity of human effort and ambition, illustrated by examples taken from history. The moral, an unimpeachable one, is expressed as follows :

If Misery hath marked thee for her own,
Make then thy plaint to Heaven's eternal King,
Who from thine eyes shall wipe away all tears;
So freed from ills, with thy soul tutored thus,
'Twill be the highest privilege to die.

The Way of Transgressors. By RENTOUL ESLER. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1896.—Although there are in this volume two of the "transgressors" who figure on the title page, the measure of retributive justice dealt out to them is very unequal. The one is an example of the wicked man who flourishes like a bay-tree, as we leave him after ruining an estimable family, officiating as mayor of his native town and entertaining a royal prince at a ball. The other, whose gradual deterioration of character is skilfully shown, points a more satisfactory moral, since he only escapes from human justice by a violent death, suspiciously resembling suicide. The principal interest of the story centres in the heroine, Malvina Grace, a grocer's daughter, educated above her position by misplaced parental ambition. How she has to fight her way to peace and happiness through the difficulties created by her false position, we will leave our readers to discover in the author's own pages. They will find there a story told with force and directness, as well as an interesting group of characters, well and naturally portrayed.

A Primer of Tennyson. By WILLIAM MACNEILE DIXON. London : Methuen. 1896.—This volume of elegant and scholarly criticism fills a void left even by the voluminous literature already accumulated on the life and works of the late Poet Laureate. The first chapters are devoted to a brief outline of his life, with an analysis of his works in the chronological order of their appearance, showing in many cases the changes made in successive versions. Then follows a critical essay which is sympathetic, though by no means indiscriminately laudatory, as the verdict of the author denies to Tennyson the supreme quality of greatness of thought with which popular admiration invests him. A valuable and exhaustive bibliography, including reviews and notices in periodicals, closes this useful adjunct to the study of the poet.

Chez Nous. Par ACHILLE MILLIEN. Paris : Alphonse Lemerre. 1896.—This collection of graceful carols of rural life has that peculiar Champagne-like sparkle of French verse which is as inimitable and as incommunicable as the song of a bird. The peasants of the Nivernais, the girls singing to their spinning-wheels, the farm servants chanting their adieus to friends and companions as they change employers on St. John's Day, the refrain of the shepherds going their rounds to ask for money on the first of May, the gleaners, the threshers, all the rustic types, form the subjects of these little vignettes in rhyme. Many of them are full of pathetic significance, and there is one fine ballad with its recurring burden of an invocation to the wind at the close of every strophe.

The Circus Rider's Daughter. By F. V. BRACKEL. Translated by MARY A. MITCHELL. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1896.—Any one who wants a good stirring story, with plenty of incident and plot, cannot do better than take up the "Circus Rider's Daughter," the healthy moral tone of which renders it a safe book for family reading. The strange vicissitudes of the heroine's career leave her noble nature unspoiled, and the sacrifice of all her hopes of earthly happiness to a sense of filial duty, leads her by the path of suffering to find her true vocation in religion. The world's homage to beauty and talent has been laid at her feet, only to prove to her how inadequate it is to satisfy the cravings of a heart such as hers. The other characters, too, are strongly limned, but the principal interest centres in her struggle against the influences of her surroundings and the contrarieties of her fate.

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